FBIS DAILY REPORT

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JAUNARENA: OFFICERS WILLING TO TESTIFY

PY302352 Buenos Aires BUENOS AIRES HERALD in English 30 Jun 86 P 9

[Text] (NA-DYN) -- Defence Minister Horacio Jaunarena yesterday flatly denied that 100 military officers from the First Army Corps charged with human rights abuses have resolved to restrict their declarations before the Federal Court to disclosing the names of chiefs who handed out orders. According to press reports backed by military sources, the officers agreed to limit their testimony after the Federal Court of Appeals took over their cases from the Armed Forces Supreme Council, the latter accused of unwarranted delays in handling the trials.

Jaunarena insisted that unease has not spread within the Armed Forces over the transfer of up to 300 human rights cases to the Federal Court, which recently asked to review another 177 cases related to trial of former Buenos Aires Province Police Chief Ramon Camps. The Defence Minister also doubted that the number of First Army Corps officers accused of violations amounts to 100, while a court spokesman asserted only about 50 members are implicated.

According to the press reports, military spokesmen on Saturday said that the Army top brass was discussing the alleged decision by officers, especially by those directly involved in the fight against guerrillas, to restrict their statements while on trial.

Conerning the military trials, Lower House Speaker Juan Carlos Pugliese yesterday blamed lack of self-criticism within the Armed Forces for leading members to denounce that "the winners of a war (against subversion) are currently on trial." Pugliese said that the Armed Forces cling to their belief in "the doctrine of national security and the concept of Communist revolutionary wars," the conclusion of which is that "the enemy must be destroyed at all cost." "We think not, since there are countries which have done away with internal subversion through justice, treading a slower and harder path but upholding democratic institutions" said Pugliese.

On a separate matter, Pugliese told the Channel 7 Cable a Tierra show that military salaries are in fact very low and may be stirring anxiety within the forces. "Many people believe the Armed Forces are priviledged (in terms of wages), but in reality the salaries of officers are a subsistence level."

For his part Misiones Governor Ricardo Barrios Arrechea (UCR) yesterday said that the Armed Forces are firmly subjected to the civil power, although perhaps reluctantly, he conceded. "I don't know whether they are convinced, but there is definitely a correct handling of the Armed Forces by the state." Barrios Arrechea added that "the Argentine people have matured through past experiences" and now strongly support democratic rule. "A coup is not an alternative which would appeal to the people at this point."

The situation of military members on trial for human rights abuses, as well as the Army's "restructuring" and budget status were analysed on Friday during the bimonthly meeting of Army generals. Army Chief of Staff Hector Rios Erenu closed the session by telling his subordinates to "continue searching for their definite insertion in the constitutional scheme." Rios Erenu also called for the "optimal rationalization of the military budget" while giving out the instructions that Army members must follow during the next 60 days.

A military source disclosed that participants also considered recent statements made by members of the Centre of Military Officers for Democracy (Cemida) and the Latin America-Argentine Unity group (UALA), and described them as "harmful to the force."

Another problem that may cause tension within the Armed Forces is the fact that retired military personnel will not receive their pensions on time because the corresponding institute has been working to rule for the past 20 days in a bid for wage parity with defence ministry personnel. Meanwhile active military members could receive an 18 percent wage increase in July and another seven percent in August, according to a military spokesman. He added that a second-lieutenant is currently earning no more than 100 australs a month.

At the same time retired Lieutenant-General Leandro Anaya was elected chairman of the Circulo Militar officers club in elections held yesterday. Anaya was the Army Commander-in-Chief in 1975 when then-president Maria Estela Martinez de Peron ordered "Operationa Independence" to fight guerrillas in Tucuman.

JUDGE ORDERS REMAND OF EIGHT ACCUSED SPIES

PY301451 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 1350 GMT 28 Jun 86

[Text] Mar del Plata, 28 Jun (NA) -- Judicial sources have reported that the criminal court has remanded in custody eight members of a presumed ring of spies that reportedly operated in favor of Chile. The court has reportedly found them responsible prima facie for crimes involving illegal association, car theft, and concealment of robbery.

The accused are: Isabel Carmen Luna, Navy Corporal Jose Luis Luzarreta, Guillermo Martin Arreghini, Enrique Dutehey, Hugo Angel Ruiz, Juan Carlos Cerda, Juan Carlos Paglialunga, Carlos Brescia, and Dante Fabian Aprimo.

The first four are accused also of an attempted criminal action against the state's security, and the much-publicized case of alleged espionage on the naval base of this city in favor of Chile, a case on which the federal court has not yet announced a decision.

The custody warrant was issued by 1st Criminal Court Judge Carlos Enrique Haller, who is hearing the case of the common crimes. Judge Haller ordered the detained woman to be transfered to the Dolores Prison, while the others will be sent to prison number 15 of Batan.

Jossianne Van Ledeguen, who is accused also of belonging to the group of spies, according to the investigations of the federal police who discovered this group in mid May, will reportedly remain under detention at the Federal Police Agency because there is no official information on her.

ITAMARATY SEEKS TO DELAY SODRE-SHULTZ TALKS

PY010145 Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 30 Jun 86 p 17

[Text] Brasilia -- If everything goes according to Itamaraty's plan at the 2 July meeting in Paris, Foreign Minister Abreu Sodre and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz will not be meeting in the near future to reach an agreement on the law reserving the Brazilian computer market for Brazilian-made products. Itamaraty has proposed a technical meeting among Brazilian and American delegates to avoid a decisive political meeting on the disagreements between the two countries.

The strategy was approved by President Jose Sarney who decided to exclude from the Brazilian delegation -- which left last night for Paris -- the representatives of the Communications Ministry and the Industry and Commerce Ministry because their respective ministers, Antonio Carlos Magalhaes and Jose Hugo Castelo Branco, are in favor of making the law more flexible. Science and Technology Minister Renato Archer was not surprised by the exclusion of the representatives from these two ministries because, in his opinion, "they should not take part in these discussions."

Only representatives of Itamaraty (two), of the Science and Technology Ministry (two), of the Finance Ministry (one), and of the Planning Ministry (one) have gone to Paris. Only the representatives of Itamaraty and of the Science and Technology Ministry will be directly involved in the informatics talks. The other two representatives, Ricardo Saur (Finance), and Paulo Tafner (Planning), will center their attention on issues other than Brazilian-U.S. trade. The Brazilian Government seeks to block the U.S. Government's strategy of concentrating its artillery on the Informatics Law to exact concessions in other areas.

The public disclosure of disagreements between Ministers Archer and Magalhaes will not bring any changes to the instructions imparted by President Sarney to the Brazilian delegation during a meeting held on 27 June.

This last weekend, Archer met twice with Brazilian Democratic Mobilization Party President Ulysses Guimaraes to explain his reaction to Magalhaes' criticism. During a meeting held yesterday, Archer also gave explanations to Foreign Minister Sodre, who gave him his full support.

Informatics Delegation Leaves

PY301454 Brasilia Radio Nacional da Amazonia Network in Portuguese 1000 GMT 30 Jun 86

[Excerpt] The Brazilian delegation which will discuss informatics in Paris left last night. It will meet the U.S. delegation on 2 July. The Brazilian delegation is headed by Foreign Minister Secretary General Ambassador Paulo Tarso Flecha de Lima and made up of experts from the Science and Technology, Industry and Commerce, Planning, Finance, and Communications Ministries, as well as representatives of the Banco de Brazil Foreign Trade Department (CACEX) and the National Security Council. The Paris meeting was decided upon during U.S. Under Secretary of State John Whitehead's visit to Brazil. It will be the first round of negotiations on the U.S.-Brazilian trade dispute.

MEDIA COMMENTS ON RESUMPTION OF CUBAN TIES

O GLOBO: 'Hasty Step'

PY302041 Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 26 Jun 86 p 1

[Editorial: "A Hasty Step"]

[Text] It seems obvious that the resumption of relations with Cuba took place too early. It was not in keeping with what the government said its plans were because there were still diplomatic and national security aspects that needed ironing out. Furthermore, Fidel Castro never supplied convincing answers to the demands that Brazil felt should be fulfilled before it could recognize the Cuban Government. Nothing has changed concerning the Cuban internal situation. Nothing has changed concerning the Cuban behavior in Central America. And certainly nothing has changed concerning the overwhelming Cuban presence in Angola, represented by tens of thousands of soldiers and by tentacular military and political advice.

And if nothing has changed on the Cuban side, why should Brazil change all of a sudden? What Fidel Castro did in Angola not only offends our ties of ethical, cultural, and sentimental identity with that African country but also is a problem closely linked to strategic Western Hemisphere and Brazilian interests which we can in no way ignore or minimize. Angola's geographic location has a bearing on maritime routes that are vital to the security of the hemisphere because it guarantees the movement of fuels and other supplies.

In theory, there is no doubt that the Brazilian democratic opening should justify a system of Brazilian diplomatic relations without any exceptions. However, the implementation of the foreign policy must take into account certain requirements to meet such a generalization. Let us not forget, for example, that numerous and unsuspected liberal voices now demand that South Africa be diplomatically isolated because of the violent racist policy of the Pretoria regime.

The unconditional resumption of diplomatic ties with Havana is at least untimely, involving a yete unresolved question of merit. It is a hasty step we are taking without a good explanation and without a straightforward need.

End of Isolationist Policy

PY302252 Sao Paulo FOLHA DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 27 Jun 86 p 7

[Commentary by analyst Newton Carlos]

[Text] The resumption of diplomatic ties with Brazil is extremely important for Cuba. The "might" of Brazil runs like a tractor over the U.S. desire to isolate the Cuban regime. This resumption of ties occurs at a critical phase of confrontation between the United States and Cuba.

The isolationist policy is finished. The Brazilian decision was a decisive step. Uruguay has already resumed relations. Bolivia did so during former President Siles Zuazo's administration. Argentina, Peru, Ecuador, Colombia, and Venezuela have also normalized relations with Cuba. In South America, only Chile does not have diplomatic relations with Cuba.

Now that Brazil has joined the chorus, all South America has followed the example of Mexico -- which never severed relations with Cuba -- and refuses to accept the U.S. accusations that Cuba is an "exporter of revolution." It is common knowledge that not even the Brazilian military fully accepted this kind of agreement during their talks with Vernon Walters, U.S. representative to the United Nations. The decision to resume relations with Cuba was adopted in many Latin American countries in order to "moderate" the Cuban regime.

After the OAS decreed its isolation, Cuba tried to oust South American governments through wars and guerrillas. It was an absolute failure, with a huge loss in dollars. Venezuela was one of the main targets, but it was also one of the first countries to resume ties with Cuba. Colombia followed the same path, the same Colombia which had drafted the resolution that expelled Cuba from the OAS. The Argentine military regime (1976-1983) did not even bother to severe relations with Cuba. Now, Fidel Castro's main interest is to rejoin Cuba with the continent through normal relations with the "constitutional governments." He welcomed the installation of an elected president in Guatemala, where there is a strong guerrilla movement.

The repercussions of the resumption of relations with Brazil are not limited to the American continent. Cuba has troops in Angola, an African country in which Brazil has great interests (or designs). In a way, the Brazilian Government's position that the presence of Cuban troops in Angola is "acceptable," because they are there at the request of the Angolan Government, is further "opposition" to the United States. Furthermore, the repercussions are not only limited to the political field. For some time, the U.S. office in Havana (we must not forget that even the Americans have a "degree" of relations with Cuba) has foreseen that, with the resumption of ties Brazil will become Cuba's second trade partner, surpassed only by the Soviet Union.

Cuba is breaking the U.S. economic blockade. The breakthrough caused by the Brazilian decision is enormous, and the Americans know it. The resumption of ties takes place at a moment of apparent hardening in Cuba. Some experts are mentioning the adoption of a "Korean line." It seems that Fidel Castro has returned from his trip to the DPRK full of enthusiasm. The only experiment of direct deals between producer and consumer, the so-called "parallel" peasants' markets, is closed. Some members of the old guard have been dislodged from leading positions to clear the path for Fidel's successor, his brother Raul. Fidel Castro again attacks corruption, indiscipline and inefficiency at work, as well as criminality.

MIRAGE AIRPLANE CRASHES; PILOT EJECTS TO SAFETY

PY301531 Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 28 Jun 86 p 5

[Text] Brasilia -- A Brazilian Air Force (FAB) Mirage airplane crashed yesterday at about 1500, 8 km from the runway of an air base in Anapolis, Gois. The pilot, Captain Lumonte, used the ejector seat and is in good condition. The accident was caused by turbine problems and occurred a few seconds after takeoff. The aircraft was destroyed.

This is the 8th accident involving a Mirage airplane since Brazil purchased 16 Mirage airplanes from France in 1972. Each airplane cost $5 million. The last accident occurred in July 1984, also near the Anapolis air base, and the two pilots were saved by using their parachutes. Three airplanes have crashed -- in 1980 (involving a death), 1979, and 1974 -- owing to turbine problems, and the airplanes were completely destroyed. Another airplane crashed in 1975 owing to unspecified "abnormalities," and in 1982 a Mirage was completely destroyed because its landing gear failed to operate.

BOMB SCARE AT EMBASSY IN SWEDEN HOAX

AU011029 Paris AFP in English 1024 GMT 1 Jul 86

[Text] Stockholm, July 1 (AFP) -- A hoaxer left an empty bag in the Chilean embassy here Tuesday, with a note saying "Beware, this is a bomb," police said.

Earlier they had sealed off the embassy and sent in an explosives team following an anonymous telephone call to the Stockholm daily EXPRESSEN warning that a bomb had been placed there.

But police only found a bag, in the entrance hall of the embassy, with a note in it. Explosives experts took the bag outside and found it was empty.

CARABINEROS RAID UNIVERSITY; OVER 100 ARRESTED

PY302120 Paris AFP in Spanish 1917 GMT 30 Jun 86

[Text] Santiago, 30 Jun (AFP) -- Carabineros forces today raided the University of Chile and expelled the students who had seized the building, in downtown Santiago. Two persons were injured and over 100 students were reported arrested.

The students demanded the restoration of democracy and the end of the intervention of the government of General Augusto Pinochet in the universities. They also voiced their support for the general strike that the National Civic Assembly decreed for 2 and 3 July.

The Carabineros, who brought several patrol cars, cordoned off the bilding and shortly thereafter, and amid growing tension entered the university.

At the same time, the police teargassed tens of youths and passerby at the university gate on Libertador Bernardo O'Higgins Avenue, where they gathered to convey their support for the students who seized the building. Eyewitnesses said that a 15-year old student and a bystander were injured.

In 13 years of military government, this is the first time that students were removed from the old building, groups of youths began demonstrating on nearby streets, where police used tear gas and powerful water jets to control the new riots.

The National Civic Assembly, the national workers' command, the associations of professionals, students, and businessmen, and the transportation sector have agreed to go on strike on 2 and 3 July.

NATIONAL CIVIC ASSEMBLY APPEALS TO ARMED FORCES

PY302324 Madrid EFE in Spanish 2039 GMT 30 Jun 86

[By Luis S. Saavedra]

[Excerpt] Santiago, 30 Jun (EFE) -- With 48 hours to go before the first nationwide strike against General Augusto Pinochet's military regime, the National Civic Assembly [ANC] appealed today to the Chilean Armed Forces, urging them "not to be an obstacle to peace."

In a letter sent to the deputy commanders of the branches of the Armed Forces, the ANC stated: "We believe that the time has come to put an end to the lack of communication that may lead to the decay or the shattering of the fatherland."

The ANC, which claims to represent more than 2.5 million Chilean workers, sent its letter to Army Deputy Commander General Santiago Sinclair, Navy Deputy Commander Vice Admiral German Guesalaga, Air Force Deputy Commander Generalo Carlos Desgroux, and Carabineros Deputy Director General Juan Alegria. The letter states that "coercion used against people who have not violated any of the laws that they have given themselves freely and sovereignly is nothing more than crime or terrorism." The ANC added: "The government is responsible for its own outrages, and the military institutions should not get involved."

It went on to tell the military men that "in order to prevent any serious harm from being done to Chile we urge you to join forces with us in the quest for peace because the 1980 constitution brings the Armed Forces face to face with the dilemma of whether or not they should definitely commit themselves politically to the regime."

The letter concludes: "We do not want a dramatic confrontation among Chileans. The fate of the armed institutions should not be mistaken for that of the regime."

NIGHT TRAVEL RESTRICTED IN 8TH REGION 1-3 JULY

PY302321 Santiago Domestic Service in Spanish 1700 GMT 30 Jun 86

[Relay from RSN in Concepcion]

[Text] A moment ago the office of Brigadier General Eduardo Ibanez Tilleria, chief of the eighth emergency zone, issued Communique No 183 which states the following:

The circulation of all vehicles, private or public, will be restricted from 0100 to 0500 on 1, 2, and 3 July 1986 in the Province of Concpcion except in the districts of Talcahuano, Penco, and Tome.

Communique No 183 is signed by Brigadier Gen Eudardo Ibanez Tillria, and pertains to all districts except for those of Talcahuano, Penco, and Tome.

MINISTERS QUESTION ATTORNEY GENERAL'S REPORT

PA290123 Bogota EL SIGLO in Spanish 25 Jun 86 p 1

[Text] All Cabinet ministers yesterday confirmed their support for the decisions adopted by the president of the Republic to confront the M-19 raid against the Palace of Justice in November and, regarding the report on the tragic event issued by Attorney General Carlos Jimenez Gomez on Saturday, said that it barely amounts to an additional manifestation of what the official himself has described as an "Attorney General's Office for Judgment" [procuraduria de opinion]. The ministers added that "this kind of action is not provided for in the constitutional or legal rules that set forth the powers of the attorney general and the attorney general's office and may lead to the disavowal of one of the tutelary principles in a state ruled by laws.

The ministers also expressed to the nation their unwavering determination to answer for their decisions during the tragic events. Regarding the position assumed by the members of the Cabinet, the Presidency issued the following communique:

A ministers meeting was held yesterday, which was attended by all the ministers of the Cabinet. The meeting included the following statement in its agenda:

1. In view of the resolution issued by the nation's attorney general, the undersigned ministers of the Cabinet once again uphold the decision unanimously adopted during a special session on 7 November 1985 of the Cabinet, expressing "their absolute solidarity with the decisions of the president of the Republic" made by him during the terrorist attack on the Palace of Justice. They reiterate, as should be expected, that they are willing to continue participating unanimously in the political debate that began last year in Congress regarding the tragic events.

2. The resolution issued by the attorney general regarding these events represents an additional example of what the attorney general calls the "Attorney General's Office for Judgement," According to the characteristics of this new form, in some cases charges are not made by strictly following the probatory legal requisite established by the current legal order, but are determined with complete freedom according to subjective evaluations and personal appraisals, as well as known facts and good faith.

This form of action is not provided for within the constitutional and legal norms that determine the attributes of the attorney general and the attorney general's office, and it could lead to the disavowal of one of the tutelary principles in a state ruled by laws.

3. That the United Nations as well as the OAS, on unanimously condemning terrorism, consider it a true crime against humanity and that concretely, on 11 November 1985, 23 foreign ministers meeting in Luxembourg, among them 12 representatives of the EEC, condemned the Palace of Justice events in the following manner:

"On learning of the grave terrorist act in Colombia against the Supreme Court of Justice, in which many justices of the court and citizens of that country lost their lives, they regret this attack on one of the branches of the state; they condemn the terrorist actions that endanger the innocent lives, and they express their condolences to the Colombian people and to President Belisario Betancur, who has carried out a courageous peace process to strengthen the political dialogue and democratic activity in that country."

4. That the government, headed by the president of the Republic, has provided what is necessary to fully clarify the tragic events, and for that purpose, it appointed a special investigation tribunal whose members were freely and independently chosen and appointed by the Supreme Court of Justice.

The ministers reiterate to the nation and competent authorities their unwavering determination to answer for the decisions they took during the tragic November incidents and for the conduct they assume as a result of those incidents.

MINISTER PREJO ON JUSTICE PALACE POSITION

PA262138 Bogota Television Service in Spanish 0000 GMT 26 Jun 86

[Text] Justice Minister Enrique Parejo will not resign. Instead, he issued clarifying remarks in response to a recent EL TIEMPO statement that the minister and President Betancur have taken a 180-degree turn with respect to their positions on the actions to recover the Justice Palace, taken over by terrorists on 6 November in Bogota.

The other Cabinet members have made no statement against Parejo, who made certain observations on the handling of the 7 November crisis, which are cited in the investigative report that was prepared at the government's request.

Justice Minister Enrique Parejo concluded his statement by saying that his position on the Justice Palace developments has not changed and will not change.

PERSONNEL SHAKE-UPS FOLLOW EXECUTION ALLEGATIONS

Guard Director Replaced

PY301740 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1651 GMT 30 Jun 86

[Text] Lima, 30 Jun (EFE) -- The Peruvian Government today ordered that General Maximo Martinez Lira, director general of the Republican Guard, be replaced and placed on the retired list. This is the first removal from office following the violent repression of the riots in Lima's prisons.

The Republican Guard has been attributed with the responsibility of the massacre at Lurigancho Prison, where more than 100 rebel prisoners were executed after they had surrendered.

President Garcia said on 27 June that approximately 100 members of the Republican Guard have been placed under arrest at the maximum security prison of Cantogrande.

The supreme decree which orders the replacement indicates that it has taken place "at the request" of Martinez Lira himself, and he was also "thanked for the service that he has rendered to the nation."

Martinez Lira had been in the job only 2 months. He replaced General Julio Nino Rios, who had been forced to resign after two dangerous kidnappers escaped from the cells of the Justice Ministry, apparently with the help of members of the Republican Guard.

Justice Minister Resigns

PY010106 Paris AFP in Spanish 0040 GMT 1 Jul 86

[Text] Lima, 30 Jun (AFP) -- Justice Minister Luis Gonzales Posada resigned tonight because of the killing of prisoners charged with involvement in terrorist activities at the Lurigancho Prison, an official source has reported.

Minister's Statement

PA010322 Lima Television Peruana in Spanish 0115 GMT 1 Jul 86

[Report by Patricia Bonn, from the Justice Palace]

[Text] Justice Minister Luis Gonzalez Posada presented his irrevocable resignation to President Alan Garcia today. He revealed this in the Tupac Amaru Room at the Justice Palace, during a news conference.

[Begin Gonzalez recording] Good evening, Messrs Journalists. I will address the public through you, to state that I left the president's office a few minutes ago after formally presenting a letter in which I irrevocably resigned the post of justice minister, with which I have been honored since 28 July 1985. The decision was prompted by moral reasons, given the despicable excesses which were perpetrated by our forces when countering the riot which broke out at Lurigancho Prison. The president has already stated that, surpassing any authorization from the Council of Ministers and violating the most elemental human, legal, and Christian rights, this led to the death of a still undetermined number of prisoners who were unarmed and had surrendered.

This grave event cannot be accepted or silenced; instead, it demands that the authorities carry out a thorough investigation and severely enforce the law against those who are proven responsible. Democracy is built by abiding by the law and with freedom and respect for human rights. The law, not barbarism, reasserts the principle of authority and regulated legal relations in a civilized society. In this concern, when the Council of Ministers authorized the countering of this riot and the reinstatement of order in the prisons, it was done with the intention of enforcing the law. However, it did not authorize -- under any circumstances -- criminal excesses which we do not countenance; furthermore, we reject and censure them, as was done by our head of state in due time and with great moral courage.

Even though the Justice Ministry has had no participation or responsibility in these events, these have taken place in one of its departments. Thus, I am morally obliged to present, as I have done, my resignation to the president of the Republic.

I want to tell you that I and the government members are part of a party which has a long-standing tradition of democracy and struggle in Peru; a party with a history of martyrdom. Thousands of Apristas have died during the past 60 years. Thousands more have been deported and imprisoned, because they tried to achieve what we are now trying to achieve: to change Peruvian society within a democratic system, defending a legal state, and fully respecting human rights. The APRA [American Popular Revolutionary Alliance] has always risen from these crises, generously extending its hand for the sake of all Peruvians' peace and harmony. This is the historical lesson which my party has given. We are peace-loving people, humane people, people who believe in the vital need for a change in Peru, but the changes must be made according to the law, respecting rights, and within a deeply human spirit.

I want to say something else to the journalists, who are my colleagues, because I belong to their organization by vocation and conviction. I wanted to tell you that the Justice Ministry -- as a whole -- is deeply grateful for the generous and permanent support that you have always given us, in basically what represents for us an ethical and moral crusade to defend abandoned children; in a permanent and implacable struggle against drug trafficking, which destroys everything and has annihilated vast sectors of the Peruvian youth.

That is why I want to thank the journalists, as I leave the Justice Ministry. The other coworkers and the person who will replace me will be part of the same set of principles, of deep ethical and moral content. I want to ask you to continue helping us in this campaign to defend the minors and children, to defend those who are constantly demanding help and support from the citizenry.

Journalism is an ethical channel and a communications channel that is extremely important in this type of activity. I thank you very much, colleagues; I thank you for your understanding and support; I thank you for having accompanied us. I thank the president of the Republic for the trust and affection that he has always shown me. I thank the president of the Council of Ministers and of the (?teachers) cabinet. My support, my faith, and my confidence that, following these tragedies, we must strengthen the democratic spirit. [sentence as heard]

The best men and women of Peru, who are all of us, should take up a full commitment to seek peace and national unity. That is the final message I could give you at this time, reiterating once again my gratitude, and sincerely telling you that he who is addressing you has done everything humanly possible, has worked with high spirits, with efforts, at full capacity, with a team of advisers and teachers of law, in an effort to make the Justice Ministry -- the first APRA Justice Ministry -- an institution at the service of the most needy classes. Thank you very much. [end recording]

REPRISAL ATTACKS FOLLOW MURDER OF PRISON INMATES

PY301835 Paris AFP in Spanish 1821 GMT 29 Jun 86

[Text] Lima, 29 Jun (AFP) -- The police today reported in Lima that Shining Path columns have perpetrated dynamite attacks against four government party offices, banks and stores in Lima, murdered a student, and threatened authorities in Ayacucho. Moreover, the Catholic Church admitted for the first time the possibility of mediating between the insurgents and the democratic institutions.

Strong security measures have been adopted at the Jorge Chavez International Airport. Beginning today, only passengers traveling abroad or to the interior of the country will have access to airport facilities. Relatives and visitors will no longer have access to the building, and of the 20 doors that used to be open, only 2 remain open.

The escalation recorded yesterday added to the attacks in reprisal for the violent repression of terrorist riots in the prisons of Lima and Callao, where 124 inmates who had surrendered were shot. Three other banks were dynamited in the districts of Chorrillos, Comas, and San Martin de Porres, causing injuries to a police sergeant, also to a pedestrian, and serious property damage.

A grocery store in Monterrey de Chosica, 30 km southeast of here, was totally destroyed by the fire that was started by incendiary bombs, while a customs office and a paper factory were dynamited in the port of Callao on the Pacific coast, resulting in considerable property damage but no casualties.

Four APRA [American Popular Revolutionary Alliance] offices were also attacked with dynamite and a fifth was about to be set on fire by the inhabitants of Ate-Vitarte, the source reported.

Student Niquer Tueros (18 years old) was beheaded by a Shining Path group on Friday, 27 June, in the Jatum Payja hamlet, Ayacucho, after being taken from his house. On the victim's body they stuck a sign saying: This is how those who rob the communist party die.

Moreover, the prefect, the parish priest, the supreme court president, the mayor, and five Ayacucho reporters are among 30 people who have received death threats. Terrorist leaflets that are circulating state that the Shining Path will avenge the massacre of their brave fighters.

A congressional committee of the United Left, the second largest political force in the country, has confirmed the denunciation made by President Alan Garcia that 150 Republican Guards and more than 50 soldiers, under the command of Peruvian Army General Jorge Rabanal Portilla, killed one by one with a shot in the back of the head the inmates who refused to identify seven of their comrades. Leftist Deputy Agustin Haya de la Torre has reported that he had received the testimony of 79 terrorist prisoners who are being held at Lurigancho prison and of the director of the prison himself, Willmer Lazarte, on this tragic event.

After obtaining the surrender of the 129 inmates of the industrial pavillion who rioted on 18 June, the officers, each with a list in their hands, asked for the identity of seven persons, and when the inmates refused to provide identification they were killed one by one, Haya de la Torre stated.

The Armed Forces Joint Command has authorized a group of priests to visit the three prisons affected by riots in order to conduct religious acts. Visits of relatives to the prisons have been authorized again since yesterday.

If the current situation allows, the church could become the mediator between the terrorists and the democratic institutions, Msgr Augusto Vargas Alzamora stated here today. Msgr Vargas is the secretary of the Peruvian Episcopate. He stated: The church will not be able to propose any peace front, because its pastoral mission avoids involvement, but it does propose the necessary dialogue that may allow the return of peace in a country agitated by violence.

Fernando Cabieses, president of the Peace Commission, has confirmed that he has presented the collective resignation of its members to President Alan Garcia, but it is not known whether it will be accepted or not. The commission failed in its objective of trying to avoid the intervention of the forces of order in the repression of the riots.

NEW MEASURES TO PREVENT TERRORIST ATTACKS

PY010326 Madrid EFE in Spanish 2147 GMT 30 Jun 86

[Excerpt] Lima, 30 Jun (EFE) -- Augusto Lanatta, deputy minister of tourism, today announced that new security measures will be implemented at local airports to prevent terrorist attacks against Peruvian and foreign tourists.

As of 28 July only travelers can enter Lima airport, those who want to see them off will no longer be able to enter the facilities. These restrictions apply to those departing Lima as well as to people arriving in the city. People arriving at the airport and their vehicles are checked before they are allowed to enter the airport building.

These measures have been implemented after last week's attack on a train full of tourists traveling from Cusco to the ancient Incan fortress of Machu-Picchu. In this attack, seven persons died and dozens were wounded.

OPPOSITION LEADER FERREIRA LEAVES FOR ROME

PY301326 Paris AFP in Spanish 0034 GMT 29 Jun 86

[Text] Montevideo, 28 Jun (AFP) -- Wilson Ferreira Aldunate, top leader of the Uruguayan opposition, left this afternoon for Rome to participate in an international conference for peace. Ferreira Aldunate, leader of the National Blanco Party, will attend the seminar on Dialogue as the Foundation for Peace, organized by the Roman Town Hall and sponsored by the United Nations.

The National Party is the second largest political force in the country together with the leftist coalition Broad Front. It has an overwhelming majority in congress and continuously forces the opposition and the ruling Colorado Party (Center) to negotiate.

CNEA TO DISMANTLE SOLE NUCLEAR REACTOR

PY272225 Montevideo EL DIA in Spanish 21 Jun 86 p 13

[Text] The National Commission for Atomic Energy [CNEA], which comes under the Industry and Energy Ministry, has released a communique saying that the only nuclear reactor in the country is being dismantled without posing any danger to the people in our city or to those doing the work. The reactor is being dismantled because its life span has ended. The CNEA, which is the national authority on nuclear matters, decided to release the communique in answer to a statement made "without authorization" by an employee. This statement was published recently, but not by EL DIA. The communique says:

"There is only one nuclear reactor in Uruguay. It belongs to the CNEA, and it is installed at the Nuclear Research Center. The reactor was installed and commissioned in 1963 by U.S. experts during the exhibition Atoms in Action. The reactor was then dismantled and reassembled in 1978 by national technicians with the help of Argentine experts. It was used for the last time in 1985 with excellent results.

"Within the framework of the different technical assistance programs signed by Uruguay with the IAEA, an expert arrived last May who with national technicians made an evaluation of the current condition of the nuclear reactor. They came to the conclusion that its life span had ended.

"The CNEA, complying with the recommendations made by experts have decided to empty the reactor and store the fuel elements following the international regulations of the Radiological Protection on Matters of Security. This task been entrusted to the most capable technicians in this field.

"The plan to dismantle the nuclear reactor is being made in accordance with the IAEA recommendations. The recommendations represent a summary of experience gathered by many countries on dismantling nuclear installations. The different phases of the procedure are being planned with the cooperation of internationally recognized experts."

DE LA MADRID MEETS WITH FRG CHANCELLOR KOHL

PA301350 Mexico City XHDF Television Network in Spanish 0130 GMT 30 Jun 86

[Text] President Miguel de la Madrid met this morning with FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl and with Conrado Storani, Argentine public health and social action minister, at the Los Pinos residence. President De la Madrid spoke for 30 minutes with the FRG chancellor and 15 minutes with the Argentine minister. In both meetings, they discussed bilateral and international topics. The visitors then accompanied the president to the Aztec stadium to watch the final game of the World Cup soccer tournament.

Kohl Departs

PA301420 Mexico city XHDF Television Network in Spanish 0130 GMT 30 Jun 86

[By Lorena Martinez Rios]

[Text] FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl returned to his country today after making a brief visit to Mexico.

[Begin recording] [Martinez] What about your meeting with the president?

[Kohl, in German with simultaneous Spanish translation] We have had a very open and friendly meeting. The relations between Mexico and the FRG are very good. I am very happy that the FRG is the number one foreign investor in Mexico. I hope that in the future there will also be investment in my country. We have viewed perspectives. We have discussed topics of mutual interest, on disarmament, and the policy of detente. [end recording]

Chancellor Helmut Kohl was seen off by Foreign Secretary Bernardo Sepulveda Amor.

ENVOY LEAVES FOR TANZANIA TO PREPARE SUMMIT

PA271647 Mexico City XHDF Television Network in Spanish 0300 GMT 27 Jun 86

[Text] Ambassador Victor Flores Orea has left for Arusha, Tanzania, where he will hold a preparatory meeting for the Group of Six summit. Ambassador Alfonso Garcia Robles and representatives of the leaders of Argentina, Greece, India, Sweden, and Tanzania will also attend this meeting, which will be held from 30 June to 2 July.

The foreign Secretariat also reported that Flores Orea will reiterate President Miguel de la Madrid's invitation to Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere to attend the Group of Six summit to be held in Ixtapa, Guerrero.

TALKS HELD WITH U.S. ON DRUGS, MONEY LAUNDERING

PA300055 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 0425 GMT 29 Jun 86

[Text] Panama City, 28 Jun (ACAN-EFE) -- This week the United States and Panama held talks to "reinforce" their joint cooperation in the suppression of drug trafficking and money laundering from the proceeds of drug trafficking.

An official communique published today by the National Banking Commission [CBN] reports that both countries seek "a more effective control of financial operations derived from drug trafficking."

According to the document, which does not say where the meetings were held, Panamanian and U.S. delegates met on 24 and 25 June to "outline the importance that both countries give to the fight against the use and illegal trafficking of narcotics." The document adds: Panama and the United States "reiterate their interest and desire to protect their banking and financial systems from misuse." The note states that during the meetings, "the sources of specific problems and better alternatives for their effective solution were sought, both locally and at the international level."

The CBN, which groups together more than 120 banks from all over the world, recently refused to break the banking secrecy law which protects its cash transactions, as had previously been suggested by U.S. financial and political authorities to combat the laundering of money from narcotics trafficking.

CBN President Mario De Diego said that the percentage of money laundering operations in this country "is minimal."

DELVALLE REPORTEDLY VEXED BY NORIEGA'S SLIGHTS

PA301950 Panama City LA PRENSA in Spanish 30 Jun 86 p 24 A

[From "In a Few Words" column]

[Text] The public submission of Mielvalle [Panamanian President Eric Arturo Delvalle] contrasts with his private sessions with those close to him and with the diplomatic envoys accredited in Panama. To wit, he was really chafed when Bokasa [General Manuel Antonio Noriega] went to Costa Rica to meet with President Oscar Arias Sachez, first, without bothering to tell him, and afterward, without caring to report to him what he had talked about with the Costa Rican president. He also got offended when Peruvian President Alan Garcia and Mon General [Noriega] directly settled the Pia Vesta affair, going over his, Raspaduro's [Delvalle's] head. Like the prime minister of an Evelyn Waugh novel, Mielvalle can quite rightly complain that "nobody tells me anything."

I am saving the greatest affront, the supreme insult, for last. During the Night of the Lieutenants, a national network was announced. Delvalle had no idea what the heck for. Biting his nails, nervous with impatience, he waited for someone to tell him. But NOBODY TOLD HIM ANYTHING. [upper case passage published in italics] He learned about Praetorian Maximino Vaprio's harangue as well as about his own speech at the same time as the rest of his countrymen. How about that?

NORIEGA, NICARAGUA'S RAMIREZ VIEW CONDECA

PA290147 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1540 GMT 28 Jun 86

[By Franco Rojas]

[Excerpt] Panama, 28 Jun (ACAN-EFE) -- The government in Managua has claimed that the possible reactivation of the Central American Defense Council [Condeca] and the millions in dollars in aid granted by the United States to the anti-Sandinists are instruments of aggression used against Nicaragua.

Nicaraguan Vice President Sergio Ramirez told ACAN-EFE that the United States is promoting the reactivation of the Condeca as "an instrument of aggression" against his country. THe Nicaraguan diplomat participated in a 2-day meeting in Guatemala with his area counterparts to establish the bases for a future Central American parliament that will serve as a forum for finding solutions to regional conflicts.

Nicaragua has not been a member of this regional military organization since the Sandinist revolution's triumph over the dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza in July 1979. Ramirez said that Condeca "was a child that lived because Somoza, as the standard-bearer of U.S. interests, promoted it."

"We, he added, did not cease to belong to that regional military organization, but we believe that the U.S. Government is now trying to reactivate it as an instrument to carry out its aggression against Nicaragua." [quotation marks as received]

In this regard, General Manuel Antonio Noriega, commander of the Panamanian Defense Forces, told ACAN-EFE that Condeca must be renewed as a military institution, following the guidelines of tne Contadora Group and "not those of Somoza." The Panamanian military leader said that the regional military organization now exists under "the bitter historical past of the Somozas, but it should serve as an advisor to the efforts of Contadora (Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia, and Panama)."

Sergio Ramirez pointed out that Condeca was conceived following a Nicaraguan initiative in the sixties, but it has been "dead" since the downfall of Anastasio Somoza.

The Nicaraguan vice president added that the millions of dollars in aid for "the mercenary forces" approved by the U.S. Congress last Wednesday, as well as the "blackmail of Central American countries" are aimed against Nicaragua. He said that the $100 million in aid the Reagan administration will grant to the contras constitutes a flagrant violation of international law and the principles of justice should rule international relations."

BRIEFS

ARRESTS FOR COCAINE TRAFFICKING -- A special antinarcotics force has captured a group of Bolivian drug traffickers who were trying to traffic cocaine in Panama. The arrrested are Mario Antonio Artega, Alejandro Gerardo Montalbo Saavedra, Miguel Angel Gonzalez Prada, and Luis Rene Gamarra Obando. The drug traffickers smuggled 8 kg of pure cocaine into Panama and were about to contact buyers. The confiscated cocaine is valued at more than half a million dollars on the international narcotics market. [Text] [Panama City Televisora Nacional in Spanish 0000 GMT 28 Jun 86 PA]

BELIZE

COMMITTEE TO STUDY GUATEMALAN CLAIM TO BELIZE

FL280226 Belize City Domestic Service in English 0100 GMT 28 Jun 86

[Text] A special select committee of the House of Representatives has been established to look at and exchange information regarding the Guatemalan claim to Belize.

The establishment of the commission was announced by the prime minister at this morning's sitting of the House of Representatives in Belmopan. Prime Minister the Right Honorable Manuel Esquivel, in introducing the motion for the establishment of the committee, said that it was formed to provide for consultations and exchange of information in the search for a solution on the issue arising from the Guatemalan claim to Belize.

The prime minister said that the leader of government and the leader of the opposition have agreed and that the committee will be made up of four members of the majority party of the house and two members from the opposition party.

The members of the special select committee are the Prime Minister The Right Honorable Manuel Esquivel, chairman; the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Home Affairs Mr Curl Thompson, deputy chairman; the Attorney General and Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Dean Barrow, the Minister of Labor and Social Services Mr Philip Goldson, the leader of the opposition Mr Florencio Marin, and the member for that [words indistinct].

The committee is to meet at least every 3 months and is empowered to make inquiries and advise of proposals for resolution of the Guatemalan problem.

EL SALVADOR

RIVERA Y DAMAS ON CHURCH'S ROLE IN DIALOGUE

PA3O1806 San Salvador La Voz Panamericana in Spanish 1400 GMT 29 Jun 86

[Sunday homily by Archbishop Msgr Arturo Rivera y Damas at the Metropolitan Cathedral, San Salvador -- live]

[Excerpts] On Monday I shall leave the country, and I will be absent for more than 3 weeks, during which time my efficient assistant, His Excellency Msgr Gregorio Rosas Chavez, will substitute for me. As you all know, I am the president of the CELAM [Latin American Bishops Conference] educaton department, and we have a coordinating meeting which will coincide with Pope John Paul's pastoral visit to Colombia. [applause]

Peace has not been a characteristic of this week, in which we have seen the most diverse and polemical attitudes regarding the dialogue of the FMLN and FDR with the president and representatives of El Salvador's Armed Forces.

As the talks have basically been between politicians, it is their task, their job, to participate in this debate with patriotic judgment. When the church became interested in the dialogue, it knew very well that this is a political problem and that those who take part in it are politicians.

That is why it is our mission to bring the parties together at the negotiating table, which does not necessarily mean that we agree on a tactical dialogue. That is why we proposed to both sides the establishment of talks mechanisms in advance to ensure results and thus avoid another frustration for the people, who rightfully view this third round of talks with mistrust and little enthusiasm.

The well-being of the people is what makes the church work for the dialogue, because the church has as one of its most profound characteristics its expertise on humanity. [applause] This mission of man is what has destined my humble service in favor of peace. [applause]

I have spoken to the point of satiation on the three areas in which we should put our efforts. The first one is to alleviate, in proportion with our means, the consequences of the conflict -- the displaced, refugees, widows, and orphans. The second is the conflict itself: tying to humanize it, shorten it, stop it from spreading, and solve it by peaceful means, with a nontactical dialogue. The third is to remove the causes of the conflict -- primarily personal and social sins -- by way of conversion and reconciliation with God and with our fellow brothers. [applause] This is our job. In the course of this, we have also given support to education, to training, and to structural reforms, but not because there is a certain party in power, as this is part of a temporary situation and the church goes beyond any temporary situations. Regrettably, the party that was in power before went so far with disrespect for human dignity that it provoked church opposition, especially during Msgr Romero's episcopate. The church does not live off temporary situations because it marches to God's pace. [applause]

ACOEES ACCUSES ARMY OF HARASSING JOURNALISTS

PA302346 San Salvador Radio Cadena YSKL in Spanish 1500 GMT 30 Jun 86

[Report by Raul Beltran]

[Text] Listeners of YSKL news service, this is a last-minute special report. The Association of Foreign Correspondents in El Salvador, Acoees, has issued a communique for the general public regarding the following incidents:

The Acoees document states that on 8 April the Salvadoran Army arrested three Acoees newsmen in Arcatao, Chalatenango Department. The detention of the three journalists lasted 11 hours, the communique says. It adds that the Army also confiscated their notebooks, films, and cassettes.

2. [number as heard] According to the Acoees communique, the Army actions were contrary to all the norms of conduct in regard to the foreign press, because the material confiscated was used by the Army intelligence, thus violating journalistic neutrality and harming our work.

3. Despite repeated petitions made to the commanders responsible of those actions and to the General Staff, three rolls of film have not yet been given back.

4. The Acoees document adds that one of the photographs taken during the trip appeared in a local paper on 22 May and, according to what we learned, that photograph was provided by the Army, thus creating a new violation.

5. The Army intransigence continues despite two formal protests made by IAPA and a protest letter signed by nine U.S. congressmen. The document says: We believe that we have been prudent in the handling of this matter by giving the Armed Forces almost 3 months to correct the situation, but the sole reply we have obtained is an unsatisfactory explanation saying that the material got lost. Therefore, we request the corresponding authorities to give us back the material that we gathered while on duty, and to respect the established international laws regarding the development of our professional activity.

The communique carries seal and signatures of authorized members of Acoees. It is also important to point out that according to preliminary reports, this document will be sent to international press organizations in order to report those actions, which Acoees describes as a violation of international journalistic norms.

ESQUIPULAS SUMMIT, CONTADORA 'FAILURE' VIEWED

PA262151 San Salvador Radio Cadena Sonora in Spanish 1830 GMT 26 Jun 86

[Station commentary: "The Failure of Contadora and the Esquipulas Summit Meeting"]

[Text] Guatemalan President Vinicio Cerezo never imagined that his (?proposal) for propaganda purposes both in Guatemala and abroad would result in a greater division between Costa Rica, Honduras, El Salvador, and Guatemala on the one side and the friendly country of Nicaragua on the other side. That is to say, President Cerezo thought the Esquipulas summit meeting would iron out disagreements among Central American heads of state and that the signing of the peace accord on 6 Jun would be a cinch. But the Guatemalan president's estimations were entirely mistaken.

He did not take into consideration that the deep wounds between Nicaragua and El Salvador due to the Salvadoran armed conflict -- fanned and backed by Ortega and his fellow commanders -- would cause bitter disputes and even inappropriate words between Duarte and Ortega. In addition, the Costa Ricans' idea of democracy would also cause strong discussions and confrontations between Costa rican President Arias and Commander Ortega of Nicaragua. Also, more than one exchange of accusations between Honduras and Nicaragua occurred during the meeting. In the meantime, Honduras acted as arbiter, making efforts to calm down those in dispute without letting them go to the extremes.

President Cerezo never once thought that Esquipulas would be the check in the Central American chess game and that this game would be checkmated in Panama on 6 June, when the area countries refused to sign the Contadora peace act, because the document did not clarify everything related to military exercises and advisers, verification and control of armaments, reduction in the number of offensive forces, balance of military forces in the area, and a host of matters related to each country's security in view of the growing arms race throughout all of Central America, except in Costa Rica.

Summing up, after trying to achieve peace in Central America for 3 years, Contadora has failed. We say this between quotation marks and in capital letters because the Mexican and Colombian Governments, which appeared as Nicaragua's friends at the outset, succeeded in these 3 years in letting the Nicaraguans arm themselves to the teeth, thereby preventing the United States from invading Nicaragua on its own, as happened in Grenada. With a well-armed and large army, tanks, long-range cannon, a modern air force, and sufficient prestige, Nicaragua could become another Vietnam for the United States. This fear of the American people forces congressmen and senators to avoid as much as possible meddling with their own forces in a Nicaragua that confronts them right to their backyard.

FMLN LIFTS TRANSPORTATION STOPPAGE ON 27 JUN

PA271913 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 0000 GMT 27 Jun 86

[Text] Attention, the national transportation stoppage has ended. As of early this Friday, 27 June, highways throughout the entire national territory will be reopened. The national transportation stoppage decreed by the FMLN General Command has ended. We send our revolutionary greetings to all guerrilla units that participated in this successful national transportation stoppage that reflected the power of our people up in arms. In 7 days, this national transportation stoppage brought about million of dollars in losses to the economic mainstay of the Duartist dictatorship.

HONDURAS

DELEGATES APPOINTED TO DEMARCATION COMMISSION

PA281942 Tegucigalpa LA TRIBUNA in Spanish 25 Jun 86 p 7

[Text] In Tegucigalpa yesterday, the Honduran-Salvadoran Commission of In-Depth Territorial Studies closed two meetings dealing with 1) the installation of the Special Demarcation Commission; and 2) certain operational aspects of the implementation of the commitment to go before The Hague court.

In this respect, Mario Carias Zapata, president of the commission of In-Depth Territorial Studies, explained that the Special Demarcation Commission, consisting of four members for each country, was appointed and that its specific mission will be to organize the fieldwork to be carried out this year in order to place the border markings at the Goascoran River and to begin the work in the area of Nueva Ocotepeque.

The Honduran delegates for border demarcation are Pedro Pineda Madrid, Raul Andino, Jose Fausto Aguero, and Leo Valladares. The Salvadoran representatives are Deputy Foreign Minister Ricardo Acevedo Peralta, Abel Salazar, Jose Fonseca, and David Escobar Galindo. The official said that the geographic institutes of the two countries are collaborating in the demarcation work.

Meanwhile, the other meeting had been scheduled during the last session held by the commissions in San Salvador from 21 to 23 May. In addition, he said that the election of judges is regulated by the bylaws of the International Court of Justice [ICJ], by which the two parties must abide. Naturally, in this trial each side has the right to propose an ad hoc judge who may or may not be a national of either party, he added. He noted that the discussions also dealt with the manner of compliance with the stages stipulated in the commitment, which will become effective on 1 October and also called for the ICJ to be advised before 31 December 1986. Finally, he said the demarcation will be continued this year in order to complete the seven sections delimited in perpetuity.

According to reports published by Salvadadoran daily newspapers on 6 June, Major Roberto D'Aubisson, leader of the National Reformist [as published] Alliance (ARENA), accused the administration of President Jose Napoleon Duarte of treason for having signed a commitment. The news reports assert that in the commitment the insular questions and the maritime delimitations in the Gulf of Fonseca and the Pacific Ocean are submitted to the ICJ.

ROSENTHAL COMMENTS ON UNIFORM SALES TO EPS

PA271942 Tegucigalpa Cadena Audio Video in Spanish 1130 GMT 27 Jun 86

[David Romero report]

[Text] Honduran Presidential Designate Jaime Rosenthal Oliva feels that there are no ideological barriers in economic transactions. The presdent's closest aide feels that it is the same thing to sell military uniforms to the EPS as to the Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries. Here are his comments:

[Begin recording] [13-second break in reception] [Rosenthal]...at no time should it be channeled through the Honduran Government.

[Romero] Do you feel that this is right?

[Rosenthal] I think that when Honduras exports or sells products it does not have to be concerned about who gets to use the products in the end. In this regard, Honduras must generate jobs and labor in order to give employment to as many Hondurans as possible. Therefore, if we can manufacture clothing, boots, shoes, or anything else, whether for Guatemala or El Salvador; or if at one point the Russians want to buy from us for the EPS, I think that we should sell to everyone.

[Romero] Pardon me, but [words indistinct] one can surmise that the $450,000-deal which the Armed Forces made selling the uniforms manufactured by the Honduran Army is lawful?

[Rosenthal] I am not aware of that particular deal. I have heard different stories regarding those checks. I am trying to get them in order to learn how the deal was handled. However, I would rather not comment on a particular deal of which I am unaware. I would be presuming to know how the exchange of checks was handled. I do have some information and it is somewhat different from other versions I have heard. When I see the checks I will gladly comment on how the deal was handled. I do feel that if the EPS wants to purchase clothing from Honduras, we will sell to them. If the U.S. Army or Government wants to purchase clothing from Honduras, we will sell to them. Our concern is to provide employment for all our fellow citizens. In this regard, there should not be any friction. We purchase cars in Russia, such as the Lada. We also purchase cars in the United States. I think that buying or selling Honduran or imported products does not mean that we are surrendering our dignity or ideology to anyone. [end recording]

PAPER SEES CONTRA AID AS DOMESTIC THREAT

PA290247 San Pedro Sula TIEMPO in Spanish 27 Jun 86 p 6

[Editorial: "$100 Million 'Charity' for Les Miserables of the Isthmus"]

[Text] The U.S. Government finally has been able to formalize its war on Nicaragua now that the House of Representatives has approved $100 million in aid for the contras, an action that represents a strong commitment to a definite military escalation. In the opinion of Democratic Party Congressman Thomas Foley, "it would be an unprecedented decision for the United States to engage in a war through procurement." This statement clearly identifies the contras as mercenaries.

The battle at the House of Representatives was difficult, but in the end, the East-West method of reasoning won. President Reagan won a big victory for his extremist position by using the argument of the Soviet bear threatening, from Nicaragua, vital U.S. interests and security. It is surprising how the U.S. legislative body, which is largely responsible for what happens in the world and which represents the people of the world's most powerful nation, can be so shallow with regard to very visible and very near problems.

The approval of this military assistance for the contras directly and deeply affects Honduras more than any other Central American country, except Nicaragua. The situations that will develop form this assistance can be easily predicted although the economic harm that will be done perhaps cannot be so easily estimated. In any event, the $300 million approved for four masquerades in the neighborhood as consolation money will not come close to compensating for the harm that will be done.

We imagine that President Azcona Hoyo and Congress President Carlos Ordin Montoya are happy. They have done their part to help the Reagan administration secure the $100 million for the contras. They went to the United States for that purpose, basically. They went there to declare, in their way, that the aid is necessary not for the sake of the mercenaries, but for the sake of Honduras' tranquillity.

The approval of the military assistance implies the war will be more far-reaching because the contra army encamped in Honduras, and using our territory as a base of aggression, will have definitely lethal arms, including heavy weapons. It is believed that there are between 20,000 and 30,000 contras, a force one-third larger than that of Honduras, in a Honduran border area over which they have absolute control and from which they have expelled our fellow countrymen.

Even if the Honduran Armed Forces were to naively believe that they can control that foreign military force which illegally remains in Honduras, violating our laws as well as international law, the true situation is something else. It has been said that the contras cannot have an air force so that the Honduran Armed Forces may have at least this advantage over them.

However, as the conflict becomes more acute and intense, the contras -- who already have helicopters and planes given to them by the CIA, as well as surface-to-air missiles -- will surely be given planes, unless Honduras ends up getting involved militarily and more directly in this war. Independent of factors that are extremely harmful for Hondurans, such as the continuation and increase in the corruption generated by the money for the contras -- about which there is sufficient and shameful public evidence -- the unrestrained arrival of Nicaraguan refugees; the impoverishment and destruction of coffee, basic grains, livestock and other farms in the border region of El Paraiso, Choluteca, Gracias a Dios, and soon, in Olancho; and insecurity throughout that extensive region, there are greater ills.

One of these ills will be the arrival, soon, of high levels of internal repression, with its touch of terrorism -- which will in turn generate more terrorism as well as the kingdom of death on both sides of the border. This is a $100 million charity job for Les Miserables of Central America, as Victor Hugo sarcastically would have commented on this.

NICARAGUA

NEWS MEDIA REACTION TO CONTRA AID APPROVAL

Radio Commentary

PA271641 Managua International Service in Spanish 1200 GMT 27 Jun 86

["Our Point of View on the Situation in Nicaragua" by Rodolfo Garcia]

[Text] The approval of more financial aid for the mercenaries that the U.S. Administration has been launching against Nicaragua is already yielding fruit in the form of condemnation and anger from the Nicaraguan people, who are sure the invaders will be defeated.

We are saying this because there is a clear fact: The Nicaraguan people -- with their vanguard, the FSLN -- are no longer scared or intimidated by the criminal policies of the U.S. Republican Party administration.

The people of this Central American nation have been instilled with more anger after learning of the apocalyptic decision of some members of the U.S. Congress. We say some because out of 430 members of the House of Representatives, 209 stated their opposition to the imperial demands. This shows that in that nation there are government officials who still believe in resolving conflicts by peaceful means and not along the warlike line of impositions that the U.S. President wants to continue implementing.

However, U.S. Congress complicity with the criminal and interventionist policies of the Reaganian administration clearly and significantly shows that the U.S. Government is confronting the Sandinist people's revolution.

Commander of the Revolution Daniel Ortega Saavedra, in analyzing the U.S. Congress political approval of the warlike attitude of the U.S. President, said that whoever in Nicaragua tries to make believe this is an internal problem would be acting as an accomplice of the terrorist policies of the occupants of the White House.

The Nicaraguan people will put such accomplices in their place and will give no room for the opening of an internal front composed by those who view that policy with satisfaction, the Nicaraguan president said.

We imagine that the North American citizens must be very sad to see how their tax money is being used. In a few days the U.S. people will be commemorating the 100th anniversary of the Statue of Liberty -- a symbol that is being exploited by the Reagan administration -- but Reagan and his acolytes are flagrantly making a mockery of the principles of liberty of other nations and using millions of dollars to destroy, kill, and intervene in small and poor countries.

In view of the new aggressive stand the U.S. President has against Nicaragua, President Daniel Ortega has said: Our best ally is the Nicaraguan people, and the people of Latin America and the world.

In this regard Commander Daniel Ortega stated: We will continue defending the revolution on the basis of our own resources and possibilities while counting always and in the first place on the solidarity of the Central Americans, of Latin America, and the world.

BARRICADA Editorial

PA281737 Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 27 Jun 86 p 3

[Editorial: "The Dollars Will Not Change the Mercenaries' Fate"]

[Text] Immorality, not the aggression, has been consummated. The earmarking of over $100 million for the U.S. Government to continue the aggression against Nicaragua does not actually mean the proximity of an imperialist victory, but rather an increase in the sacrifices imposed on the Nicaraguan people after the inevitable defeat of the counterrevolution.

In addition, the vote by the House of Representatives has placed the official seal on a war that did not require the House's permission for it to be launched. We will also be facing the consequences of a new level of aggression.

Regardless of any consideration or analysis of the situation that has been created, with such an appearance of legality, by granting the financing for the aggression, our defense mobilization and our efforts at giving more depth to the revolution are not dependent upon this new version of the war or the amount of funds that will reach the mercenaries. On the contrary, the escalation of the war and the conniving involvment of the Yankee legislators, plus the complicity of the "spiritual" mentors from the Catholic Church, are due to the progress achieved during the 7 years of revolution, i.e.:

1. The strengthening of the security elements obtained during the victorious battles against the mercenary forces.

2. The political and social stability achieved, despite the difficulties arising from the aggression and the economic embargo.

3. The consolidation of revolutionary power as evidenced by the people's identification and unity with their vanguard, the FSLN.

4. The defeat of the military alternative managed by imperialism through the armed counterrevolution.

5. The successful holding of the popular consultation and the open town meetings, and the overall drafting of the constitution.

6. Imperialism's inability to create an internal counterrevolutionary option to complement its armed option.

There is but one explanation for all this, namely, a constant increase in the people's patriotic awareness, which consolidates their unity around the FSLN and makes them participate in the work required to meet our defense and production needs. In this context everybody has a specific task to accomplish.

The people have not reacted against the discussions and approval of the financing for the traitors -- now turned pro-Yankee mercenaries -- with laments or simple denunciations. The people have remained mobilized for 7 years, independent of the mode of aggression imperialism adopts or how it withdraws each year because the conscientiousness and will to defend our homeland began with the confrontation against the Somoza dictatorship, which represented imperialism in Nicaragua.

We defeated the Somozists at that time the same way that we will defeat them now and will continue to defeat them forever.

TUNNERMAN CITES U.S. MEDIA REPORTS ON ICJ RULING

PA271757 Managua International Service in Spanish 1615 GMT 27 Jun 86

[Telephone interview with Carlos Tunnerman, ambassador to the United States, from Washington, by unidentified reporter in Managua -- live]

[Text] [Tunnerman] [Words indistinct] on all the major television channels in this country, the main storm on this morning's major newscasts was the report that the International Court of Justice at The Hague backed Nicaragua by a wide majority -- since almost all the rulings were 14 to 1 or 12 to 3 -- in almost all the points we submitted to its consideration. The Court clearly stated that the mining of ports, the aid to the counterrevolution, and all the other acts of aggression which the U.S. Administration has committed against us, constitute violations of international law, the UN Charter, the OAS Charter, and the common laws that guide relationships among states.

During the Good Morning America program our foreign minister, Comrade Miguel D'Escoto, appeared, reporting on the results of this ruling, from The Hague. He said that Nicaragua hopes that this will make the U.S. Government adjust its conduct to legal norms, since the world's highest court is saying that the U.S. actions are unlawful and are violating the most elementary norms of international law.

At this moment, accompanied by the two U.S. lawyers who were part of the legal team that presented Nicaragua's case to the International Court, I am on my way to a press conference with a large number of this country's news media, which have a great deal of interest in learning the details of the Court's rulings. Attending with me is Dr (Edmund Chase), a Harvard University professor and former adviser to the U.S. State Department during the John F. Kennedy administration. He is an authority on international matters, and he was a member of the team, which was coordinated by our ambassador to The Hague, Comrade Carlos Arguello. Also with me is Dr (Paul Wysler), who is another of our lawyers before the International Court and who has represented Nicaragua in many other cases.

At the press conference, we will report to all the U.S. news media on the results of this ruling, which constitutes a great victory for Nicaragua. Although the United States has said that it will not abide by the Court's decision and will not abide by the ruling, the fact remains that this ruling has worldwide impact since the world's conscience it is seen that the U.S. actions are unlawful and in violation of all norms. Therefore, it has been established that Nicaragua is a moral power. Its views have been correct and its accusations have been proven before the International Court. We were right to say that state terrorism was unleashed against us. The world's highest court has said we are right.

[Reporter] Dr Tunnerman, we would like to ask you if the United States could resort to legal loopholes so as not to abide by the Court's ruling. What can you say about that?

[Tunnerman] Well, the United States has already said that it does not accept the Court's jurisdiction on this case. In fact, it withdrew from the case because it saw that it was going to be defeated. Therefore, at this moment, the United States will do anything so as not to abide by the ruling. However, there are other measures Nicaragua can take. In addition, the Court said that Nicaragua is entitled to demand some compensation or to demand compensation from the United States because of the damage the counterrevolution has caused. Nicaragua will surely ask for that compensation in a subsequent phase of this process.

Still, we must view this basically as a moral and legal victory. Reason and the law are on Nicaragua's side. This [U.S.] Administration is opposing reason and the law.

[Reporter] One last question: Last night, President Daniel Ortega said that Nicaragua would appeal to the UN Security Council. Can you tell us what impact President Ortega's remarks have had in Washington?

[Tunnerman] That he would appeal to the United Nations?

[Reporter] Yes.

[Tunnerman] Well, now the International Court is part of the UN system, it is the judicial branch of the United Nations, we will surely report to the UN Security Council and the General Assembly on the Court's ruling. We will surely report on this ruling to all international forums to bring the unlawful and immoral (?practices) of the Reagan administration to the fore.

[Reporter] Commander Ortega also referred to making a denunciation of the approval of $110 million [figure as heard] in aid to the Somozist mercenaries, that is, to report it to the UN Security Council.

[Tunnerman] Sure. The Court's ruling said that aid to the counterrevolutionaries violates international law, the UN and OAS Charters. The United States should end this sort of unlawful action.

TANA COMMUNIQUE CALLS U.S. 'GANGSTER STATE'

PA271710 Managua International Service in Spanish 1237 GMT 27 Jun 86

[Communique issued by the Anti-Imperialist Tribunal of Our America, TANA, in Managua on 27 June; read by TANA Executive Secretary Freddy Balzan]

[Text] By approving President Ronald Reagan's $100 million to finance the criminal war the CIA is directing against Nicaragua, the House of Representatives and the Senate have turned the United States of America into a gangster state that threatens peaceful coexistence in Central America.

By merely having the U.S. Congress discuss this immoral petition, the North American nation had already violated international law because of its meddling in the domestic affairs of a sovereign nation, thus mocking and defying the Latin American community.

We are not surprised that the United States has taken the path of state terrorism and force because this is truly a policy applied by almost all U.S. Administrations against our nations since the last century under various names including the gunboat and big stick policies.

Even Lincoln's own people believe that this monstrous decision is an offense to all the so-called forefathers of their country. This conclusion was reached in a poll conducted by THE WASHINGTON POST showing that 62 percent of the people oppose the White House decision to squander the taxpayers' money to destroy peace and liberty in Nicaragua.

By silencing all the criminal activities of FDN leaders involved in international drug trafficking, corruption, and theft of funds, a complicity with these activities has been discovered at the highest level of the Reagan administration. Therefore, it has no moral authority to accuse other nations or the political leaders of those nations of being allegedly involved in these same actions.

Nicaragua is not alone because the path of dignity has been chosen instead of choosing the shortcut of treason followed by other leaders. Although it is true that this path is filled with anguish, limitations, and difficulties, it is the path taught by Sandino, Bolivar, Artigas, O'Higgins, and all the liberators of the past and present century to achieve victory in the face of colonialism.

GOVERNMENT FORBIDS MSGR CARBALLO'S ENTRY

PA302342 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 2316 GMT 30 Jun 86

[Text] Managua, 30 Jun (ACAN-EFE) -- The Sandinist government has forbidden Msgr Bismarck Carballo, a Nicaraguan Catholic priest, to enter the country, it was reported today by the state-owned radio La Primerisima in this capital.

The radio station said that the Sandinist authorities issued instructions to airlines serving the country that they not allow the clergyman to board any of their airplanes. He arrived in Miami, coming from France, and wanted to travel to Managua. La Primerisima said, after quoting official sources, that the government's decision was adopted after learning that Carballo "was carrying out a counterrevolutionary campaign abroad."

Msgr Bismarck Carballo is in charge of the Managua Archdiocese's news media and spokesman of Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo, president of the Episcopal Conference of Nicaragua. Archbishopric sources reported that Carballo had traveled to France for "an ecclesiastical tour." The sources added that Cardinal Obando y Bravo has contacted the Holy See so that the government will allow Msgr Carballo to return.

Spokesmen for the San Miguel church, in which Carballo is the parish priest, reported that the Nicaraguan priest went to the Taca airline office in Miami to purchase a ticket and travel to Managua. The clergyman was told at the office that the Sandinist government had issued instructions that he was not to be allowed to board an airplane for Managua. The sources added that the other airlines gave him the same reply when he tried to purchase a ticket to travel to the Nicaraguan capital.

Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega warned during a public event last Friday that those Nicaraguans "who love Reagan should go to Miami."

ARCE COMMENTS ON SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT

PA271348 Managua Sistema Sandinista Television Network in Spanish 0200 GMT 26 Jun 86

[Text] At its recently concluded 17th Congress in Lima, Peru, the Socialist International, SI, reiterated its support for the Central American peace process promoted by the Contadora Group. The SI also reasserted its rejection of the Reagan administration's aggressive policy in Central America. These statements were made by Commander of the Revolution Bayardo Arce, deputy coordinator of the FSLN Executive Commission, upon his return from Peru.

[Begin Arce recording] We found that the friends [words indistinct] gave a favorable reception to the Nicaraguan position. They expressed their support, which was reflected in the resolution issued by the SI, in which the organization reiterated its rejection of the Reagan administration's aggressive policy, its support for the Contadora Group, and several other expressions of support.

Since the meeting was in Peru, a Support Group member-country, we had the opportunity to talk with Peruvian President Garcia about that. We talked to him before the inauguration of the SI Congress, and he not only reiterated his solidarity with Nicaragua during the meeting, but he also stated it very clearly in the inaugural address.

On our return trip we made a stopover in Panama and talked to Panamanian Colonel Roberto Diaz Herrera, chief of the general command of the Panamanian defense Forces, and to members of the foreign affairs committee of the Panamanian ruling Party, the Democratic Revolutionary Party. In our conversations, we found that they have the same attitude of commitment toward the Contadora peace efforts that we maintain. We agreed that at the present time there is a full plan, a campaign, carried out by the administration [not further identified] to weaken that peace group, not only by rejecting the last peace document, but also by undermining the group itself, in the same way it has done it with its slanderous campaigns against Mexico and Panama. With this attitude, the administration is trying to give the impression that the only possible solution is the warmongering one [word indistinct] in these conflicts. [end recording]

RAMIREZ REPORTS ON RESULTS OF EUROPEAN TOUR

PA281538 Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 25 Jun 86 p 5

[Text] "After 6 years of misinformation campaigns in Europe, of a constant attack by the enemies of Nicaragua, there is a more solid and clear opinion, and an appropriate environment to give in-depth explanations in Western Europe on the situation of our country." This was said yesterday by Vice President Sergio Ramirez Mercado, who has returned to Managua.

Ramirez, who headed a delegation of revolutionary government officials, met in Spain, Norway, Switzerland, France, Belgium, Italy, Algeria, and the GDR with presidents, foreign ministers, public officials, and political party leaders. He discussed the Central American conflict, the process of institutionalization of the revolution, and the Contadora peace efforts with them.

During the many contacts that the delegation had with leaders of religious organizations, nongovernmental cooperation organizations, solidarity committees, and the media, they found that there is a polarization of opinions about Nicaragua. Only the groups identified with the right wing maintain aggressive and inconsistent positions on the Nicaraguan revolutionary process.

He added: In addition, there is a wide range of opinions between parties, unions, government, civic organizations, parliamentarian groups, and media sources who support the revolutionary and democrtic institutionalization process in the country from different standpoints.

Approximately 70 of the leading media sources in those countries requested interviews with the Sandinist delegation, which gave at least 10 news conferences.

In the same manner, Nicaragua's cooperation and political links with the various countries visited, as well as with the EEC, were strengthened. Delegates of the revolutionary government have visited the EEC headquarters on four occasions, and this was praised by EEC official Claude Cheysson as an important political gesture in Nicaragua's cooperation with the EEC.

Nicaragua signed a cooperation agreement with the Norwegian Government, by which that country agreed to donate paper, fertilizers, and fish flour, among other items. A multilateral agreement was signed with the EEC, and technical cooperation was discussed with the other countries visited. A contingent of the Norwegian Peace Corps will soon arrive in the country, and the number of Spanish volunteer workers will be increased.

The Swiss Government agreed to continue sending volunteer workers to Nicaragua. "In the economic, commercial, and technical cooperation aspects, we have taken important steps that will strengthen the country during the current difficult economic situation," Vice President Ramirez said.

He said that the countries he visited are worried because while the Contadora Group has made a specific proposal to Central America, the U.S. Government insists on obtaining from the U.S. Congress additional funds to finance the terrorist activities in Nicaragua.

He stressed: "It is also a matter of concern among the most important sectors in those countries that several Central American countries are trying to disavow the Contadora Group, to invalidate its actions, and to terminate its peace efforts. This attitude is seen with amazement, as such positions are aimed at eliminating the negotiating efforts, so that no agreement can be reached."

He added that within the diplomatic and political circles there is much anticipation, not only over the debates on the $100 million, but also on the decision to be announced by the International Court on 27 June, "which will obviously carry great political weight and will have a great impact in many countries in the world."

Vice President Ramirez said that his meeting with the pope opens the possibility for an understanding with the Catholic hierarchy in Nicaragua. "We agreed to resume the dialogue between the [Catholic] hierarchy and the government, and it will have the Vatican's support."

Finally, Ramirez expressed his doubts regarding a meeting of Central American deputy foreign ministers in Guatemala, excluding Nicaragua, as Guatemala has said that it will not support any policy whatsoever aimed at isolating the Sandinist government.

"There have also been talks about renewing the Condeca [Central American Defense Council] to do away with the Contadora Group. However, the Guatemalan Government has said that it will not participate in military plans against the Managua government. This gives us confidence and hope that those attempts will continue to be stopped by the serious determination of Nicaragua and Guatemala.

TIRADO HEADS FSLN DELEGATION TO PZPR CONGRESS

PA292343 Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 26 Jun 86 p 5

["Communique" of the Secretariat of the FSLN National Directorate; dated Managua, 26 June 1986]

[Text] The Secretariat of the FSLN National Directorate reports the following:

Commander of the Revolution Victor Manuel Tirado Lopez, member of the FSLN National Directorate, will lead the FSLN delegation that will attend the 10th Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party [PZPR], which will be held in Warsaw from 29 June to 6 July this year. The delegation will also be composed of Sandinist Assembly members Daniel Nunez and Edgardo Garcia.

Secretariat of the FSLN National Directorate.

Managua, 26 June 1986.

"1986: 25 years later, all weapons against aggression."

RED BRIGADE MEMBERS ALLEGEDLY WORK FOR FSLN

PA260439 San Jose LA REPUBLICA in Spanish 19 Jun 86 p 15-C

[Text] Rumors have again emerged regarding the presence in Nicaragua of members of the Red Brigades, an Italian terrorist organization. The Italian Government has been informed that Mauricio Leonelli, Mauricio Falesi, Lorenzo Romero, Alessio Casimiri, Alma Chiaro D'Angelo, Gino Tomaso Liverani, Rita Cauli, Guglielmo Gulielmi, and Pasquale Maria Valitutti are in Nicaragua. The reports point out that some of these individuals are working as reporters and photographers for the FSLN Political Directorate.

Italian Embassy officials in Managua have personally seen Alessio Casimiri, Rita Cauli, and possibly Guglielmo Gulielmi. Cauli and Guglielmi are the leading suspects in the attack against Italian Prime Minister Aldo Moro during the seventies. It is believed that the two live together in Managua in a house near the southern highway at km 12.5. During the past few years Italian Government officials have asked the Sandinists about the presence of members of the Red Brigades in Managua, and the Nicaraguans have repeatedly expressed surprise and denied knowledge of their presence.

CASTRO DISCUSSES SPY CHARGES AGAINST NORIEGA

PA010226 Panama City Panevision Television in Spanish 0000 GMT 1 Jul 86

["Exclusive" interview with President Fidel Castro by journalist Norma Nunez Montoto at the Palace of the Revolution in Havana; date not given -- recorded]

[Text] [Montoto] Commander Castro: During a recent interview we held with you, you discussed the Panamanian military, their role within the Torrijist ideal, and thier responsibility to assume total sovereignty over the Panama Canal in 2000 with great respect. Those military men and, specifically, their commander, General Manuel Antonio Noriega, are currently the target of a strong campaign by U.S. congressmen and some of the U.S. media. The accusations include his having supplied intelligence to Cuba and the United States for a period of 15 years. We believe the Panamanian people would like to know and deserve to know your opinion on this.

[Castro] You know, Norma, when I learned you had requested an interview on an urgent basis, I assumed you would address this subject.

You're right. When you asked me several questions about Panama in the context of those lengthy news conferences, I spoke about the National Guard and its role in its country with great respect, as you have said.

What I did in fact was tell you what I think about the National Guard. I believe that among the Latin American military, one of the armed institutions that plays one of the most important, patriotic roles in this hemisphere is the Panamanian National Guard. This is an opinion I have held for a long time, since I was a witness to the process: Torrijos' rise to power, his policies, and his struggle to recover the canal. It was a long struggle, during which he rallied the support of world public opinion.

I remember the meeting that took place in Panama -- I believe it was a meeting of the Security Council.

[Montoto] That is correct.

[Castro] It was to discuss the canal problem. We always supported those demands. I believe Torrijos was always very touched by Cuba's support for the Panamanian struggle. I believe he led that struggle with great talent, and he succeeded. However, it was not easy. It took many years of hard work, at the end of which an important accomplishment was obtained: the fundamental principles by which the territory of the canal and the canal itself would gradually pass into Panamanian hands. These were concepts to be used to guide developments.

However, you know that there are many people in the United States who do not agree with the Panama Canal Treaty. There are many people in the United States who are thinking of backing out of their commitments. Now, this is something that I have talked about with friends, with many Panamanians, and that is that stability is vital for Panama, and that anything affecting Panama's stability is a very strong argument for not fulfilling the canal agreements.

Also, the National Guard needs to maintain its unity, and it needs to have the support of the people. This is very important for Panama due to that progressive and patriotic role it plays. Since Panama must take over the defense of the canal and it must show it is capable of carrying out the administrative and security functions of the canal, anything that disrupts Panama's peace and stability would ruin all the efforts that have been made for the recovery of the canal.

That is my opinion. I am fully convinced of that, and that is why I am always closely following what is happening in Panama. I think it is very important for the National Guard to maintain the [words indistinct] with the (?support) of the National Guard.

If the United States manages to destroy that National guard-people unity; if the United States manages to destabilize the country; if the United States even manages to divide the National Guard; then the canal will not be recovered in 2000. They will have all the arguments, all the excuses they want for not returning the canal to Panama. That is why I think that the Panamanian Defense Forces have a historic mission of great importance. They have a role that, moreover, many other armed institutions of Latin America do not play.

Then, I can tell you the following, and it is something that is very clear. There is a conspiracy against the National Guard, against Noriega, who is the chief of the National Guard. There is a [words indistinct] plan to discredit the National Guard, to discredit Noriega, and to separate him from the people. Naturally, all of this has a purpose, [words indistinct] to eradicate the Torrijist spirit within the National Guard. They know that if they manage to eradicate the Torrijist spirit -- that is, the patriotic, progressive spirit that Torrijos planted in his people and in the National Guard -- that would ruin all the accords, all the agreements concerning the canal, and Panama would not be able to recover the canal. I feel there is a very clear conspiracy.

Now then, how did this take place? I am going to tell you something that all of Washington knows, or at least, many people in Washington do -- however, this has not been published -- and that is how this campaign was carried out. This is not a spontaneous campaign. This is not an accidental campaign. This campaign was proposed by a member of the National Security Council. In Washington, they even know his name, the name of the is National Security Council member.

At first, the Pentagon was opposed to this; it did not like very much the idea of carrying out this campaign. It was very reluctant. In the end, the Pentagon also agreed, and the White House supported it, as did the State Department and the CIA. The campaign was therefore a well-planned thing. The instrument that was used is something that is frequently used: leaks to the press, alleged leaks to the press about alleged events or alleged information. In fact, they leaked these alleged reports concerning Panama to the press. That is how they unleash the mechanisms of an organized campaign. It is a campaign that is maintained, and the purpose of it is to make important changes in Panama's domestic and foreign policy. That is the objective that is outlined.

We could call it a dirty war against Panama, against the National Guard, and against Gen Noriega. I am going to try to explain this objectively, to answer your questions, and tell you what I think about those charges made against him, claiming he offered information to the United States and Cuba for 15 years.

Actually, they try to present Noriega as something like a double agent of the United States and Cuba. I think this has been done with a truly disloyal idea in mind. Among other things, I think it seeks to create resentment, suspicion, and division between Cuba and Panama. However, that sort of scheme does not work with us, because there is a long history, sufficiently long, of many years of relations between the two countries. Remember, this came up with Torrijos, who once said that every minute, every hour of the blockade against Cuba were an embarassment. He promoted the reestablishment of relations.

When Torrijos died, relations between the two countries continued to be normal. There was always an exchange, because Panama is a country belonging to the nonaligned. It is a Latin American country, a country interested in the area's problems. Throughout the years, there has been an exchange of delegations of various delegations that have come. There have been events such as when -- you remember -- in 1979 Torrijos himself came to the nonaligned meeting. We have received many visits by Panamanians. Generally, these are civilians who visit; sometimes, and not on just a few occasions, National Guard representatives participated in these delegations.

We exchanged views...[changes thought] we have exchanged views many times about international problems, nonaligned problems, international economic problems, and Central America. We exchanged views many times because Panama has always been interested in this issue. Well, what could have happened? We always exchanged political viewpoints on this or that problem. It is quite possible that a Panamanian official, either civilian or military, may have asked what Cuba thought about a given political topic. Well, this is not espionage. Do you understand? I do not believe in the veracity of these accusations; these are completely groundless accusations because, for example, as far as Cuba is concerned, Noriega never gave us intelligence information about the United States. Never. This would be senseless. The comments that we exchanged with him and the exchange of opinions with Panamanian representatives were principally political matters. Noriega never, on the several occasions that I talked with him after Torrijos' death and before Torrijos' death...[changes thought] that is why Torrijos sent him to Cuba. I never heard from him any intelligence information regarding the United States. We exchanged political information.

Another thing, Noriega never expressed hostility toward the United States. Never did I hear him express hostility toward the United States. I cannot accept the idea that Noriega also transmitted information about Cuba, because he never tried to sow hostility between the United States and Cuba; quite contrary, he was always interested in any possibility of improving relations between the United States and Cuba. I understood, deep-down, that he wanted to do something to improve these relations. I cannot accept the idea or believe, for a moment, that Noriega has ever passed intelligence information to the United States, information that affects Cuba's security. I do not believe that. I state this categorically, and I tell you that this is a lie, a plot. Noriega never assumed a hostile attitude toward us; I never heard him issue a hostile statement about the United States. In fact, I always ascertained his interest in doing something to improve relations between our two countries. I can give you an example, during an important...[changes thought] a critical situation, as a result of the Grenada invasion.

The very same day of the invasion...[corrects himself] in the early morning hours following the day of the invasion, when the fight was still going on, when our personnel were surrounded by Yankee troops, Gen Noriega made great efforts to attain a ceasefire; he made great efforts to avoid a bloody finale. He made great efforts so the situation would not end in a battle where, of course, the United States had aboslute numerical superiority. He called me in the early morning hours, quite interested in reaching a solution and thus preventing the next day's clashes, when it might have been possible to storm the Cuban positions. It was, like I told you, an extremely difficult situation for our personnel. I always remember that and thank him for it. It is further proof of how he was always interested in preventing these critical situations; that is what I always remember and bear in mind about Noriega's behavior. He was always friendly and kind with us. You know he generally is not a man for words, but we maintained contact. I can now tell you two things, categorically: One, Noriega never transmitted intelligence information about the United States to Cuba. Never. I do not believe, at all, that Noriega ever transmitted intelligence information to the United States, information that affected Cuba's security. I am completely sure about this and can categorically tell you this.

[Montoto] Commander, when you state that a National Security Council member planned this campaign, do you mean that it was exclusively aimed against Panama or the Latin American countries that...

[Castro, interrupting] No, no, no, no. He was the one who proposed that this campaign be carried out against Noriega, and thus manage to take Noriega out of Panama's political scene, to change the course of Panama's domestic and foreign policy, to annihilate the Torrijist spirit in the National Guard, and to reduce the National Guard's role in Panama's political life and Panama's destiny. They know that, as long as the National Guard remains united and the Torrijist spirit prevails in the National Guard, they will never be able to destroy the Panama Canal Treaties -- and they will have to fulfill them. The have only 14 years left. The most reactionary sectors in the United States hope to destroy...[changes thought] not to return the canal to Panama.

[Montoto] And the accusations about his participation in Torrijos' death?

[Castro] Well, look, do you want me to tell you the truth? That is an infamy. That causes even more indignation. I do not...[changes thought] that accusation is incredibly base. Those of us who know Torrijos very well and what he did...[changes thought] those of us who have an opinion about those events, those of us who know about Noriega's loyalty for Torrijos...[changes thought] Torrijos fully trusted Noriega.

We must not forget that during the difficult moments in Torrijos' political life, at the decisive time when there was an attempt to carry out a coup d'etat, it was precisely then when Noriega played a fundamental role to save the Torrijist process. Torrijos had great confidence, unlimited confidence in Noriega, and Noriega always responded with absolute loyalty. He was totally loyal to Torrijos, this we know. Each time Torrijos wanted to talk about any topic, about the struggle for the canal, about any support, or exchange views on that matter, he sent Noriega. So he had full confidence in Noriega.

When I read this accusation, I was further convinced that this is a preconceived plan. You know that the same procedure was used with Mexico recently. This same senator, Senator Helms, made slanderous and dirty accusations against President De la Madrid and Mexico, in a campaign against Mexico. Therefore, we see how two countries, Mexico and Panama, in a short period of only 1 month, or perhpas only 15 days, have been subject to violent accusations, to violent campaigns, which in my opinion is flagrant and blatant meddling in the internal affairs of those Latin American countries.

[Montoto] Would this have any relation with the Contadora Group?

[Castro continues speaking as Montoto asks question] [Words indistinct] United States, as it did with Chile, as it did with Allende. It orchestrated a campaign against Allende, to create the conditions for Allende's ousting. The United States is undoubtedly trying to create the conditions to remove a person from the scene who has such an important role as Noriega, to deal a blow to the National Guard, and to reduce its political role in the country. That is undoubtedly what the United States seeks to achieve in Panama.

[Montoto] Is there any similarity between this and the Philippines-Marcos and Haiti-Duvalier cases?

[Castro, laughing] No, there is no similarity, and there cannot be, because circumstances in Haiti and in the Philippines were absolutely different.

[Montoto] However, is there an attempt to adapt this pattern to Panama?

[Castro] Well, the situation is different, Norma. The United States supported the Duvalier dictatorship and Duvalier's barbarism, until the Haitian people [words indistinct] Duvalier. Then they took advantage of the opportunity and maneuvered to form a government junta in order to prevent the process from becoming radicalized. There was a crisis in the Philippines. There is no internal political crisis in Panama.

[Montoto] But there is an attempt ...

[Castro, interrupting] There is an attempt to create an internal political crisis in a country... [changes thought] there is absolute and total public freedom in Panama. The National Guard plays a moderate and discreet role. The National Guard has a historic, patriotic role of great importance. The National Guard has really withdrawn, it has actually withdrawn, it does not direct the country. It guarantees Panama's progressive, democratic process, but it does not direct the country. It is playing a discreet role. I see no similarity. On the contrary, Panama has a policy which has support: a patriotic policy, an independent international policy.

We must not forget that the United States Government does not allow an independent policy. Panama cannot be handled as a puppet. Panama cannot be handled as other countries in Central America -- I do not want to mention names. Some Central American countries are handled as puppets, but Panama is not. Panama is one of the four countries that comprise the Contadora Group. Panama is one of the countries that has contributed most with its effort to find peace in Central America.

Of course, this policy contravenes U.S. interests. It contravenes the aggressive and interventionist U.S. policy in Central America, which they do not forgive. Therefore, they want to behead the National Guard, or at least divide it, discredit Noriega withdraw the people's support, and divorce the National Guard from the Panamanian people. In my opinion, this is the purpose of the U.S. maneuver.

The United States is engaged in a blatant intervention in domestic affairs. Can you imagine what would happen if we did the same thing to Panama? What would they say about Cuba if we carried out a campaign of that nature?

I do not blame the U.S. press. I do not blame the U.S. press, because the press repeats reports and information that are supposedly true and that are supplied by the U.S. Government [words indistinct] the U.S. Government. So they reflect what the government filters to them. I think the U.S. Government is basically responsible. They wash their hands among them. They say that of course they are worried about the implications and accusations. That is what they say, but they are using diabolical methods.

I believe that... [changes thought] of course, I hope that the Panamanians will be aware of the situation; I hope that the Panamanians are aware of what it would mean to divide the National Guard and the people, of what would happen if the United States makes it its right to decide who can and who cannot be the National Guard commander; if the United States decides who should be the leaders of that country, if the United States manages to divide the National Guard. I hope that the Panamanians realize this, because if the United States achieves this objective, I have no doubt that the battle for the canal will be lost.

However, I have faith in the Panamanians, I trust them. I tell you, I believe the National Guard is intelligent and wise; it has managed to create a relationship with the people, and these links will not be broken. That is my opinion. I have faith in the National Guard's intelligence and wisdom, and in the Panamanian people's intelligence and wisdom. I have faith in the Panamanian people's nationalist and patriotic spirit, although I believe it has received a hard blow with this dirty -- and let us say surprising and unexpected -- campaign. I hope the Panamanians will unite, defend themselves, stay together, and preserve the country's interests. Of course, I have seen that the United States has accomplices inside the country. There is no doubt about that. They wish to promote division, and they wish to carry out their plans with the collaboration of the antipatriotic and most reactionary sectors of the country. That is my opinioin, I tell you frankly. If you want to know something else, with pleasure.

[Montoto] Only one... [changes thought] I know you are a very busy person, but there are other reports saying that during Nixon's government, there was an attempt to kill Noriega. Do you think that that could happen again, now that the campaigns...

[Castro, interrupting] We all know that the U.S. Administrations have never had scruples. With regard to assasination plots, I can tell you that I myself have been a target of such plans. They have not crystallized, but I have been a target of those plans and an assassination target for a long time. We have a long experience with that.

I do not believe any method stops them. You are accurate in pointing out that danger; I have no doubt that is possible, although I have no proof. However, it is possible. It is possible that, at some point, they prepared, or that at some point they thought of eliminating Torrijos first, that is possible. When do they say that plan was being prepared?

[Montoto] During Nixon's time.

[Castro] In what year?

[Montoto] They did not mention the year, but they only talked about...

[Castro, interrupting] But Torrijos was heading the Panananian Government?

[Montoto] Yes, it was known that Torrijos was at the head of the government...

[Castro, interrupting] But was Noriega at the head of the Panamanian Government?

[Montoto] And Noriega was head of the intelligence department...

[Castro, interrupting] Perhaps, at some point the United States, the U.S. Government planned to get at Torrijos, and it is also possible that they also tried to get at his closest followers. That is possible. However, I am most inclined to think that if their plans to separate Noriega from the political scene fail, they might try to kill him. I think the people should be also aware of that danger.

In addition, this campaign can also serve to look for a pretext, and then say that Noriega was killed by Panamanian people, by personal enemies, or something along that line.

In this regard, that campaign could be used to try to create the conditions to justify the murder. Thus, the danger exists. In my opinion, they could try to eliminate Noriega, especially if their plan to separate him from the national political life fails.

[Montoto] Well, Commander, we would like to thank you for your time. I do not know if at these difficult times for Panama and Latin America, you think there is a message...

[Castro, interrupting] Well, I think that I trust the Panamanian people and the Panamanian National Guard. I trust the Panamanians' wisdom and patriotism. I think they will come out of this aggression with flying colors. I do not need to encourage them. The Panamanian people do not need foreign encouragement. I repeat, I am sure they know how to behave under such circumstances.

Of course, you can tell the Panamanian people, the Panamanian Government, the National Guard, and the chief of the Panamanian National Guard that they have our affection and our solidarity.

[Montoto] Thank you very much.

CASTRO GIVES SPEECH AT ENTERPRISES MEETING

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[Speech by President Fidel Castro on 26 June at conclusion of meeting on enterprise managment held at Havana's Palace of Conventions -- recorded]

[Text] Companeros: We have without a doubt held an important meeting. We cannot say whether this will be a historic meeting or not. That will basically depend on its results. It is not easy to draw conclusions from this meeting because many topics have been touched upon. But some basic ideas and conclusions can be drawn. First, there is no doubt that in recent times a series of negative trends have manifested themselves in our society, which already have begun to become worrisome. Some of us noticed this before, some noticed it later, something that sould be considered in more depth. I have always believed, I have always been very much convinced that, in a country like ours, which develops its revolution in conditions so special, near the United States, and constantly threatened, so much so that during the past few years we have had to make a huge effort and spend large sums in view of the growing aggressiveness of imperialism. In a country like this we cannot afford to have the revolution politically weakened.

Many in the world marvel at our people's ability -- although it is a small people of the Third World, and an economically undeveloped people -- to resist the imperialist U.S. aggressions in the economic, political and military fields. I thing history will undoubtedly mark as a great feat the fact that our country has been able to pass this test successfully.

And I think we have achieved this precisely because of our people's spirit, morale, and courage, and because of their revolutionary awareness. This has never failed. There are untold proofs in every direction. I will mention only some of them. When the time came for the internationalist mission in Angola, more than 300,000 Cubans volunteered for this mission. I feel very few people in the world have demonstrated such a spirit. When the time came for an internationalist mission in Ethiopia, a country so distant, so far, in difficult conditions, hundreds of thousands of fellow Cubans -- a survey was made and the conclusion was reached that hundreds of thousands, more than 300,000 -- were willing to fulfill this mission.

Here is another example: When the Nicaraguan revolution triumphed and we were requested to send teachers -- they asked for 1,000 teachers. We also made a survey. This was more than a survey, and we asked for the teachers willing to fulfill this mission -- about 30,000 volunteered. Later, 2,000 were sent because they requested more teachers. They were sent to the most difficult areas of that country. Some areas were reached after 2 or 3 days of walking. In many instances, around half of those who went were women. Many were mothers. It is worthwhile considering the exemplary way in which they complied with this kind of task. When counterrevolutionaries murdered some teachers, 100,000 primary school teachers volunteered. I remember I received their signatures right after the congress of the Association of Communist Youth.

Our people have made great sacrifices. Our people, those who remained here, scornfully rejected the stance of the stateless people, those who emigrated, those who were in search of a consumer society, etc. Really, those who remained here -- and this included the great majority of our people -- I feel they have written a page of very great heroism and have offered special proof of their patriotism and awareness. Well, this is our country's greatest treasury and wealth. We have dreamed of educating the new generations in an even more revolutionary and more communist spirit.

We hope that the FEU [Federation of University Students] students, those from basic secondary schools, Pioneers, and particularly our youth, will be even more revolutionary than this generation. It was even said today that this generation is more revolutionary than the previous one. This has become a slogan of students and youth. In addition, this has been proved. For instance, when electronic technicians for the Armed Forces were requested -- this was about 4 years ago -- from a graduating class of about 300, the question was asked how many were willing to join the Armed Forces for some period of time to work as specialists. All of them, 100 percent, volunteered. More or less about the same time, when teachers were requested for Nicaragua, -- not teachers but doctors, because the number there was insufficient -- I proposed to the Nicaraguans to send them a group of sixth year students to work there and complete their degrees there and even stay there for 2 years afterward. About 1,000 students graduated during this period.

The 1,000 students were asked and 100 percent of them responded positively. They were willing to graduate in Nicaragua and also to work for 2 years. These are the many truly admirable proofs which I feel make our country strong and powerful. Many people have asked: Well, how is it that the United States has not crushed Cuba as one crushes a cockroach? But the United States cannot crush Cuba as one crushes a cockroach or a snake. The United States can never crush this country as long as this country continues to be as it has been so far. [applause] What has made us so powerful and invincible to economic and political aggressions and military threats?

This moral strength is what makes millions of men and women join the territorial militia troops. This moral strength is what makes them organize, train, and prepare themselves and to build fortifications by volunteer work. These are the fortifications, trenches, and shelters, of which [Roberto] Veiga talked about.

This moral strength is what makes them respect us. Because they realize that the cost of an invasion to Cuba is unaffordable. And you know how aggressive, arrogant, and insolent they are. Yesterday we received the news that the U.S. Congress approved, by a 12-vote majority, the $100 million for its dirty war with Nicaragua. Each day they get more aggressive and they show it in every way, yet they respect our country because we have earned that respect.

What made it possible for us to crush in a few hours the mercenary invasion in Giron, when half of Cuba's current population was not yet born? What made it possible for us to firmly resist here, 1 year after, the threats derived from the October crisis and for the entire nation to be on the alert, firm, united, and unyielding?

What made it possible for us to crush all the counterrevolutionary bands? What made possible the victory of our armed struggle during the last liberation war, when we had nothing more than two or three rifles, no money, and nothing else?

All this was possible because of our principles and moral strength, because of our spirit of sacrifice, unselfishness, and altruism. This was the raw material which made of our country, which was a Yankee semi-colony, or all but a Yankee colony, a socialist country, a communist country.

Consequently, what we are and what we may continue to be depends on this awareness and spirit. [applause] That is why I always admired and sympathized with Che's essential ideas which urge us to meditate. Marquitos [not further identified] clearly explained here that limits were even imposed on the norms, which had to be revised, on the C-25 and on other things he explained. Every time I recall [Che's] positions I greatly admire his great vision, his great capacity to foresee things, but none of us had any experience in this.

He mistrusted these mechanisms, but in the long run he died and the theory was not developed. In fact, we took what were then described as idealistic and unreal positions concerning the handling of our economy and the country's resources. We even incurred certain extremisms. It was spontaneous, almost as spontaneous as many of the things we have observed during recent years.

Thus, it was believed at that time that so many organizations were useless and several were abolished. We actually abolished the budget. It is a miracle that we did not abolish money. We abolished relations between the companies and ... [changes thought] In fact, we abolished controls, we lost control. Those mistakes -- because they were evidently mistakes -- necessarily brought about the need to correct them. Those were the times when we spoke only of moral incentives. We said absolutely nothing about material incentives. I would even dare say that we abused this. It was necessary to amend this but, in doing so, a system had to be implemented. Perhaps the ideal thing would not have been what we did at the time or what we did later on. What I mean is that even institutions that give results in other countries do not necessarily give results here. That is a historical reality.

I think that these experiences, the one from the past and the current one, must teach us that each revolution must strengthen and develop its own style and methods. We made mistakes when we all but rejected the experience of others, and we made mistakes when we copied the experience of others under different historical circumstances, with different developments, in different geographical conditions, and with a different state of mind and psychology. That is why we were deeply concerned about current events.

Certain phenomena were not evident during the first years of the revolution, during the first 10 years -- or the first 15 years -- of the revolution. I remember the enormous efforts we exerted at that time, when more than 100,000 urban workers had to be mobilized to cut sugar cane. We have forgotten about that because the harvesters cut 65 percent [corrects himself] almost 65 percent of the sugar cane, and we have the efficient cane-cutters, processing centers, lifts, etc. Now 70,000 or 80,000 men do the work formerly done by 350,000 men. We had the spirit even though we were not aware of these phenomena. Many of the things we saw were completely new for us.

It seemed that free enterprise had been established in our country and that everyone had a right to trade, even to produce. It seemed that certain measures like the farmers' free market -- which more or less established farmers' free trade at any price -- associated with self-employed workers, degenerated into sales of quack remedies. I do not know if one can say that. In addition all these reforms had been creating a mentality, a different spirit. The farmers' free market emerged just when the cooperative movement was developing, and it becamse a restraining factor for the cooperative movement. The workers started selling on their own. Steps were taken forbidding trade and directing them to [indistinct word]. They went back to their old tricks, and by that time they had grown quite a bit in number.

The situation was put right, but soon we started to see another phenomenon: the self-employed person, who was even working with machines and obtaining raw materials from certain industries and other sources, sometimes including stolen goods. They even had several workers, and dozens of people selling for them. And not only this. Broom manufacturers with stolen raw materials kplus other elements of this sort, contacted cooperatives, and swindled the cooperatives or bribed them or confused them. The fact is that due to measures adopted so that cooperatives could produce and sell, as cooperatives they received 50,000 pesos without producing a single broom; they just allowed these new broom manufacturers to use their commercial permits.

When we analyzed the situation of the cooperatives we saw a lot of irregularities, chaos, and disarray everywhere we looked, which forced us to call that meeting with all the country's cooperative representatives to put an end to a host of irregularities, by the way, with very good results on the part of the farmers. We also discoverd that many, many state enterprises all over the country were linked to these irregularities committed by the farmers. There was practically a slogan [as heard] for total trade freedom. Everyone bought and sold. The cooperatives sold to enterprises they had no right to sell to. They would go into town and sell to the people, they would set up shop, there were all sorts of things -- real chaos -- and these characters had taken over the streets. They showed less and less respect for the authorities, less respect for the state, less respect for the revolution. Many peasants became rich. Some of them were already rich before, but the last agrarian reform law set a limit -- this was the second law -- a maximum limit of five caballerias [unit of land measurement] -- which was very radical at that time. There were some farmers -- some of them grew tomatoes, potatoes -- who were even making money with five caballerias.

To all of this was added a new caste of rich people: those manufacturers and businessmen who had emerged everywhere. To this was added all the resources that were diverted, plus the thefts. This reached the level of administrators, especially of small institutions, coffee shops, ice cream parlors -- they are small, but can sell 5,000 or 6,000 pesos -- and there were people who would steal 100 and even 200 pesos a day. Resources were diverted, like the individuals who would make off with a truckload of goods, or they would steal a stalk [cabillo] truck and would then sell it in Pinar del Rio, or they would steal a truck full of cigars and sell it for a lot of pesos. A lot of criminals like these began emerging. A growth in crime was noticed, but at the same time, of most concern was the noticeable yearning for money, a profit spirit, a spirit of enrichment, which was really invading our working class. This really worried us, because if there is one thing we must keep pure, it is our working class, which is our vanguard.

I would say, there is really a contradiction happening with regard to the teachers, who receive a relatively modest salary. We make demands of them, we exhort them to study, we steer them towards excelling and study. That is why we have more than 30,000 teachers, with nearly 3,000 graduated as primary school teachers. That is why we have more than 30,000 studying at universities. In not more than 12 to 15 years all the country's school teachers will have primary school teaching degrees. We have a 12,000-teacher reserve that allows for tens of thousands of teachers to study, because we give them the first and last years at the university. It might be possible in the future for us to give them the last and next to last years so they can study, when we have a suitable teacher reserve. I have used this example to explain that it is much more convenient to have a reserve of teachers, or doctors, engineers, or whatever, than to have people wasting time in offices, especially when I see the figures that were explained by Companero Marcos. In 1973 there were 95,000 administrative workers, and in 1984 there were 244,000.

In other words, before the economy planning and direction system, and before the reforms that were made, we had only 95,000 administrative workers, and now we have two and a half times that number. It is equally amazing that the number of management personnel has grown from 148,000 to 250,000. That means that for each new worker, for each new laborer, one managerial worker or one leader has been created. Look at that ratio. Never in the history of the revolution has personnel in this area increased by such a magnitude.

Would it not be better to have 40,000 teachers and professors graduated? Why? So that teachers and professors could be studying, or so that one day we could give a year off to each teacher.

So that we could have nurses, doctors, so that we could have technicians, so that we could tell an economist to go and study for a year. To convert all these human resources, if we have no jobs for them, into a definite job. Convert them into a great qualified reserve that might be of use in the constant self-improvement of all our technicians, our specialists, and all our professionals. It would be a thousand times more useful than having thousands of people doing unproductive work.

We do not bother the teachers, with them we do a great political job, but we do not offer them any type of encouragement, incentives, or awards. We do not offer them anything. They simply receive their wages, and as they improve and reach higher levels and assume more responsibility they get paid accordingly. With doctors we do the same. Because all these negative aspects were showing up in the services sector, we were witnessing a decline what was accomplished in the hospitals. In December, I held a meeting with all the hosptial directors, party secretaries, youth secretaries, nurses, and union members. It was a wide-open discussion which lasted 2 days. Since 54 centers were represented, we were able to analyze every detail. A lot of important information was released during the meeting concerning subjective and objective problems, although we had met to analyze the subjective problems.

We organized a work program, which is being implemented. The party is meeting with the hospital secretaries every month to check on the program being implemented. We are going to do the same thing with other sectors. Now we are working with the doctors. We can see the results. We are confident about the results of this plan which is eminently political.

I was saying how paradoxical it is that with the teachers and doctors, who are intellectual workers, we are doing political work and with workers we do not do any political work. With them we work on a basis of material incentives. We are spoiling them. I am concerned over the fact that while the setor comprised by the intellectual workers is receiving superior political development, the workers, who comprise the vanguard, are becoming politically underdeveloped. These are the signs we are seeing everywhere.

To me it is obvious that we have created a sort of mysticism. We thought that a system of economic management and planning could solve everything; or that the mechanisms [mecanismos] could to the same. We thought that we could forget about the political job we have to do and that we have nothing more do with regard to the party, the unions or anything else, and could just depend on the miracle of the mechanisms to solve the problems. But what the mechanisms have created are millions of problems.

In reality, this directorate of systems and planning committed many mistakes. I do not say everything is wrong. I do not say everything that has been done is negative. However, all sorts of mistakes were made; and no doubt about it, there were errors in judgment. I would go as far as to say, just about, that there were ideological errors. In other words, there are ideological confusions around all this. However, the fact remains that there was blind faith in the mechanisms, and these mechanisms were giving disastrous results.

We talked about construction and how it should be. I explained the situation to the construction workers. I did not do it to criticize the companeros of the construction industry. We have done a lot on behalf of the construction industry and the construction workers to give them prestige. It used to be that the worse thing you could call a citizen was a construction worker. Now, the construction workers have gained prestige. I am not blaming the organization, I am blaming the planning and distribution of resources. This shortcoming started to develop gradually, and before long it was deeply rooted.

I would say that the construction workers and construction firms have lost the habit of finishing the job on time. They do not seem to have any idea how to do this. They will be surprised the day they finish a job on time. I am saying this because I have seen the great effort being made by a brigade to do a great construction job in record time on a scientific institution of great importance to our country, which will be dedicated on 1 July. They have worked hard, they had all the materials on hand, but they will not finish on time. About 2 percent of the work is still to be completed. They almost finished on time; they were working at a good pace, and they were confident, but at the last moment, at 1 month or 45 days from the day of the dedication, they realized that they cannot finish it, and then you have the hustle and bustle, the demand for more workers from everywhere, disrupting the organization in other sectors. You have that final marathon in which productivity is not efficient and in which quality can decline.

A few days ago I visited the construction site, and I told them: Do not work so fast, you are doing a good quality job. Do not worry if it takes you 1 or 2 more months, I prefer it that way. Do not spoil everything you have done, because you have made a great effort; the work is excellent. [applause]

I realize that with this last minute effort, it will take 2 months to complete the work. This is the sort of thing we have to avoid. In the construction industry we have become stagnant. I hope that we can recover the vigor, spirit, and pride. Not in every project. There are projects which will take many years. For instance, in a thermoelectric construction project you build by units, each of which are put into use once they are finished. It will take us about 8 to 9 years to finish the two nuclear reactors, which will be the first in our country. As soon as they are completed they will be put into use, and then two more will be built.

There are gigantic projects, like in Moas, which demands a large investment of capital and resources and take years to start producing. We also have to take into account the fact that this is the first time the Soviets have built this type of industry with the type of technology we have here. This naturally takes time because there are problems and difficulties.

Naturally, there are billions of unfinished projects that are dependent upon these big projects that are still under construction. But what concerns us is the number of other projects that are not finished.

We became stagnated in the construction field because we were doing other things. It used to be that construction projects were completely finished. A school, a children's center, were delivered finished, with furniture, kitchen. They had everything.

I do not know what kind of fabrication was designed by the technocrats and theoreticians of the planning [corrects himself] of the Economic Management and Planning Systems Directorate who came to the conclusion that the investor should buy all these things. For example, if a municipality over in the eastern provinces is going to build a child care center, it has to find the furniture, outfit the kitchen, and contact the CEATM [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply] for the purchase of an elevator -- if it is a two-story building. It is madness. All the buildings, stores, cinemas, clinics, schools, and child care centers were built simultaneously in Alamar. Those who moved to Alamar that year know that the child care center was finished before the houses. [applause]

What has happened now? The integral nature of things has been lost. Towns were being built at the time, then industries were built, and the town were not built. Comrade [name indistinct] knows that I had to intervene and explain that we could not continue to build industries in Santa Cruz del Norte without building a single house. I had to intervene so that some houses were also built in Mariel, because they were building industries and were not building houses. Previously, one person was in charge of building a house in a the countryside; he was a responsible investor. Another person was in charge of building the aqueducts and sewers; another one was in charge of the roads and streets. At one time, all the plans were carried out in an organized way. The dairy farms, towns, roads, streets, and irrigation systems were built that way. The houses were even furnished, they were delivered complete. That is how the Isle of Youth was created, and it is admired by many visitors. That is how big projects -- like the one in Jaguey -- were carried out. That is how Havana Province was filled with roads, and you are perfectly aware of this. If we tried to do this nowadays with all the chaos we have qnd under our current system, I am sure that we would not be able to. The country must recover its ability to build things and to complete things. We will undoubtedly do this.

We also became aware of the great sophism, the great lie that there should be no excess workers in the factories and the system would prevent an excess of workers in the factories. Consequently, it was surmised that the concept of a microbrigade clashed with the Economic Management and Planning System Directorate. That is why it collapsed. All the people respected this belief, all the people respected this lie, this fable that the microbrigades, these microbrigades were conceived to provide additional work and that is how we want to revitalize them. In fact, we now have more workers in the companies, and we have an excess of workers in the factories. That is a reality. That is why the party adopted the decision -- which you have supported -- to establish the microbrigades again. I believe that we are going to raise the construction projects to meet our needs. [applause] I always said: Do not destroy the brigade system; turn them into enterprises if you like, but do not destroy the brigade system.

Well, they [the brigades] turned into more or less specialized enterprises: one specialized in architectural proejects, another in housing projects, another in industrial projects, etc. Well, we must recover the spirit that once gave us the ability to make many things, and to make great things. Anyway, as I said, our main concern was the workers' situation. I think this was really strategic, it was really critical. Many people were only thinking about money. This was a new trend. We must bear in mind that this negative trend was not influenced by a single person; it was the result of several liberal bourgeois viewpoints. The peasants' free market was really a bourgeois measure. I also think that the resurgence of self-employed workers is the result of a liberal bourgeois measure, above all, because it helps no one, does not increase the worker's awareness or create proletarians, and I believe that it does not solve any basic problems. I am talking about the active workers and laborers. I am not talking about the retired workers who may work in many ways.

Anyway, the fact is that the measures turned self-employed workers into industrialists. Many of them have countless businesses; countless businesses which include the evasive maneuvers, theft, etc. It is well known that the mechanic who works in a shop and then works on his own will earn much more money when working on his own. This has not been educational, positive, or useful, and I am very happy that it is at least quite clear. I did not ask the other comrades about this. I wanted to ask the party cadres and the youth cadres. I am very happy that they unanimously believe that a communist should never become a self-employed worker. [applause]

A Communist must devote 100 percent of his time to the revolution. A communist must devote 100 percent of his energy, his work, his life to it. If he is really prepared to give up his most precious possession, which is life; or to give his own blood, how can a Communist not be able to give up these petty and rediculous privileges? [applause]

As I was saying, the craftsmen were becoming corrupt. I have already mentioned the example of La Placita. However, the intellectuals were becoming corrupt. There were other liberal bourgeois measures here, such as the famous copyright, etc. I myself, when I realized that we did not have books for our universities... [changes thought] This was many years ago. Many years ago our students did not have books. A book would cost $100, or $80, and there were no dollars and no books.

So I said, a Third World country, a revolutionary country must simply nationalize copyrights. I said, who is paying anything for books by Cervantes, the great authors of the Middle Ages, and the great playwrights of ancient times? Who is paying anything for man's great creations throughout history? I said: Let us at least nationalize the technical and scientific books, and we decided to print in Cuba dozens upon dozens, hundreds of thousands of books for university students. We simply printed them.

We adopted the revolutionary decision to nationalize those books. We, the countries of the Third World, have to demand the right to appropriate all scientific-technical work. So, we copied books from Europe, the United States, and from everywhere to use them to educate our population.

Well, one day there emerged an era of full bourgeois revalidation of copyrights until, well, copyrights prevailed. I said: Well, I accept the idea of copyrights, but I raised an issue: that the principle we proclaimed of the right of Third World countries freely to use scientific and technical books must remain in the laws. Well, at least that remained. It remained in the laws.

Since then, many people have earned money. However, the manner in which one pays for copyrights is another piece of rubbish, because payment is made per quantity of pages, not on the basis of quality pages. I do not know if this has been straightened out, or will ever be straightened out.

The actual fact is that we have opened the way to the emergency of a new wealthy class in Cuba. [Word indistinct] reports about these large salaries and all these things we have been analyzing here. This is really worrisome.

I have already recounted this thing that happened to me. I do not know if you have already heard the story. However, I will repeat it because this impressed me very much. One day I was talking with a good brigade leader, the man that headed the brigade that built the 13th Congress School out there in Aguacate. He was the leader of the group, and I talked with him by chance because I went visiting and television happend to be there. [sentence as heard] I talked with him, and he sort of explained to me how things were going. I asked him; I talked to him about the multiple skills concept [multioficio]. He said yes, we have it in the integral brigades. He talked to me about the brigade and I asked: Is the multiple skills concept going on there? he said yes. There is the multiple skills concept because otherwise... nothing. I had never seen anyone talk to me about the workers this way.

He is a good worker! he said: There is the multiple skills concept because otherwise... no. He gestured to me this way with his hand... otherwise, no. There was already talk about our workers in this sense: No multiple skills concept, no pay. No pay if there is no multiple skills concept. As if they were mercenaries. So, that is why I said on 19 April that a new kind of mercenary had emerged.

I saw that they were really acting dishonestly. These people were earning 300,000 pesos. These people engaged in businesses of all kinds. These people began paying for automobiles in cash. What has happened? If you pass through Havana's interior you will find it teeming with automobiles dating back to the era of capitalism because these peasants have had money to buy anything that moved, as many as one, two, or three.

How do they manage? Nobody knows where they get spare parts, motors, all sorts of things of this kind. It is because they have money. Aside from this, there were still some 10,000 truck owners. I have the data somewhere. Can you imagine how much money those truck owners earned? [They earned] 50,000 pesos, 100,000 pesos, and some earned more than 100,000 pesos. Some even had three trucks and, if they had relatives, would give them the trucks to drive. Earnings of over 100,000 pesos a year...

Now then, when some of the technocrats and theoreticians in the Economic Management and Planning System directorate tried to favor the railways they came up with the idea one day of increasing the land transport rates. What type of socialist system! To get people to use the railways they came up with nothing less than the economic mechanism of tremendously increasing the land transport rates, when the state can very well simply instruct all agencies, all ministries, all enterprises to ship by railway with such and such (?conditions)! I doubt that socialism can be constructed if we do not actually have enough sense of discipline for things like this, to find solutions without resorting to these diabolical mechanisms.

What was the result? The raised the land transport rates and, consequently, the earnings of those 10,000 [truck owners] increased in such a way that after 3 years, when we had hoped that those vehicles would grow old and disappear some day, they are now more eternal than Methuselah. Because only 1,000... [changes thought] Some have built trucks and some have rebuilt trucks. Some are going around in trucks without having registered them. There have been no requirements in this regard, either. There are 9,000 [figure as heard] truck owners. They are the ones who, when the workers purchase cement and construction materials, are charging more for transporting them a few blocks away than the cement, the steel bars, and the lumber are worth. You know this. [applause] These are the ones who are carrying, who are earning large amounts of money on Saturdays and Sundays when the boys cannot come. They are the ones who go to the schools, to the countryside and transport people to the beaches. They earn all the money they want in every way.

Now there are thousands of small farmers who have become rich. There are thousands of truck owners who have become rich. There are thousands of quacks and whatnot who have accumulated much money by stealing. Again, there are tens of thousands of rich people in this country. What are the consequences? They will bribe anyone; they will corrupt anyone; I mean, anybody who is capable of having access to money. However, they corrupt many people. They are the ones who go to specific [aquellos] shops. They are the ones who hire a vehicle for 100 pesos and give a tip. They are the ones who, when a worker earns a prize, and can purchase a motorcycle -- like the tens of thousands that have been distributed -- go around offering any amount of money for that fully equipped motorcyle that has been sold to the worker.

When a worker purchases an automobile -- you know that a large number of automobiles is distributed among factories and working centers for the workers to decide, in assemblies, who will purchase them -- they show up. I know of the case of one worker who sold the car for 20,000 pesos. He cannot do so, but is led into committing a violation, because he was interested in a house, and he sold the new car for 20,000 pesos to build himself a house. This becomes a motive for corruption, a source of temptation for many people who are going around with money or who, as a peasant said...[changes thought] Often, they are the ones who go many times to the hotels, to all restaurants, to all those places, because they have all the money they need to do so.

These are the disadvantages of having dozens upon dozens of nouveau riche. We have been adopting other measures, like the ones I explained to you -- the measure on the quacks and the program adopted by the Politburo to fight crime. The party leadership also adopted the decision to revive the brigades to solve the serious problems we had regarding housing and a program called the program to sanitize the capital, according to which the police are being supplied with necessary means and more authority because these antisocial elements and lumpen commit abuses because of the fact that these are super decent police, the most decent in the world.

I said, well, our police are decent but will use an iron fist against criminals. They will not allow themselves to be subjugated, beaten, or frightened. [applause] Actually, what our people want, what revolutionaries want, is for the police to be more stronghanded with the lumpen. Well, they [the lumpen] are beginning to retreat. You can see more policemen on the streets; you can already see them on the beaches.

Steps have been taken since last year. They had already been approved, like banning beer on the beaches and all those measures you are familiar with. I understand you can go to the beaches now; that the number of bullies has decreased; that there is more respect for families; that there is more tranquillity. I have heard people say this.

All these things had become factors of corruption. I told Lezcano, look, Lezcano, it is about time to hold a meeting with the enterprises in Havana City -- all enterprises.

Then we decided afterward to invite those in the nearby province, which is a sister of this city because they depend on one another very much. That is why we set the date a few weeks ago and organized this meeting because the time has really come to discuss these problems with the workers.

(?Each project) was preceded by work done by the party and by work done by the CTC and the State Committee. Fortunately, all companeros have unanimously become conscious of the situation, of these problems, and of the seriousness of these problems.

Therefore, we have held meetings and carried out analyses to the extent possible during these hours. We have tried not to leave out any of the many issues that were discussed during the assemblies and the party meetings, and particularly those discussed by the municipalities [word indistinct] really very interesting. I think that the conscientiousness of the party cadres can be appreciated during these discussions at the municipalities because they deeply, cleverly, and wisely bring out the problems, inconveniences, and negative trends.

They themselves come out in favor of many measures. They have raised the point that the time of laid-off workers [interruptos] must come to an end. They have proposed the elimination of the franchises which, as Lezcano said, are letters of marque. They have proposed many measures. They have energetically raised the problem connected with the doctors who grant leave.

I think that this will be a very important turning point within this overall negative trend. Now then, it does not behoove us to adopt decisions here. In my opinion, we must not lurch. We must not, because of these bitter experiences, resort to extreme measures and destroy all of the good and bad things that have been done. I think we must be very equitable, very calm, and very cautious. The question is not to take radical, drastic, sudden, unthinking steps.

I think that we must maintain a management system. We must fix up the one we have installed. We can do nothing else now. I am sure that what we have to do now is to take this one and fix it up, patch it up [applause], see what can be adapted or not adapted, correct many of these things and some rather caricious criteria -- well, make the first rectification in something that was accompanied by the system of microbrigades. The microbrigades will not conflict in the slightest way with the system; they will not conflict with the economic calculations; they will not conflict with the enterprises, because we are going to work with surpluses, with what is really surplus, and will do so with surplus work [plus trabajo]. Of course, I know that since there is a surplus in many places, and since there are many interruptions, the category of surplus work probably will never be attained in many places, regardless of how hard they try.

This will not be attained. I know many working centers in which, if only the interruptionists were devoted to work, they would have a surplus. However, we will try to get the principle of surplus to operate as far as possible. If we ever reached such a [stage of] rationalization -- I do not think we will attain it for the time being -- this could mean an additional 100 minutes of work, 15 minutes of work, or 1/2 hour of work by the rest of the workers. However, we must uphold the principle of microbrigades with surplus work, regardless of how these realities I have mentioned turn out in practice, (?and this is) a rectification.

Veiga has proposed some things. Omarcito [not further identified] has proposed some others. I think what we must do now is sit down and think things over. We cannot adopt decisions here. It would not be right. I think that the Politburo, the party's leadership must sit down and think things over.

I cannot put off decisions indefinitely. I must make well-thought-out decisions, because life has taught us that we often make decisions that are not very well-though-out; we fail to weigh all the consequences.

For the time being, the principle of paying wages in keeping with the quality and quantity of work is correct. It is unquestionable. That is, payment commensurate to work. We cannot and should not drift away from the socialist principle of paying according to the work done.

I think that we could even dislike the socialist principle; we could like and think that the communist principle is more just, because Omar [not further indentified] himself said that the socialist formula does not go beyond the narrow framework of bourgeois law.

I think that one of the mistakes here was that a concept was abused. It was really abused. The concept was not really applied, because when money paid is commensurate with the work and when many people -- through various, means -- earn money not related to their job, there is a violation of the socialist formula.

However, the socialist formula cannot be 100 percent applied either, because if a child needs education, we do not tell his father that he must pay for it. A child, a teenager, a youth is guaranteed an education. If a person needs very expensive medical treatment, we would not tell him to pay for it. If he must undergo a heart transplant, he is not charged for it, regardless of whether he is a quack, a criminal, or robber in jail. The revolution will not hesitate to save the life of a prisoner if it can, even if this involves a heart transplant that costs $150,000 in the United States. The revolution will do that for any citizen.

That is, there are things that the revolution guarantees for all equally: culture, recreation, and in a way, an education, health, etc. The socialist formula is applied via the wages. In other words, distribution cannot be 100 percent socialist in nature. Nevertheless, in keeping with our reality, we believe that we cannot help but apply the socialist formula to material production workers.

It would be stupid to apply this formula to the ICRT, or to say to a physician: Look, we will apply the socialist formula to you. Physicians are under another formula that is more egalitarian. Specialists, professors and teachers are too. Nevertheless, as I said, there have been attempts to corrupt the system such as the case of the teacher who was going to be paid for custody and similar cases.

Fortunately, we do not have those corruption elements, although that many teachers are teaching on their own. [Words indistinct] one is paid, the principle applied to the communists must be applied to techers as well. I would say that we mut fight against this negative trend.

Why? Because some families have more money. A youth [words indistinct] has more opportunity to win a slot, he has a tutor to teach him physics, chemistry, mathematics, etc. It could happen that those who have more money have more more chances to be admitted to an exact sciences vocational schjool, or perhaps a greater chance to enter the university. This is a privilege. It brings about certain inequalities.

However, in general, the payments to physicians and teachers are not based on a truly socialist formula. They are paid a salary in keeping with their abilities and knowledge. There are no output bonuses, there are no material incentives. However, we must be realists with regard to material production. We must apply that principle, because not even during the times of extremism and idealism, were cane cutters paid in keeping with how much cane they cut. That was realistic. Not even in those times was this mistake made.

I am referring to ratios, specific ratios, which could be very important when making payment in keeping with the work done whenever work can be measured in a clear and exact way. I suggest the example of the cane cutters. In the agricultural field there is very tough work. I believe that it would be idealistic to dismiss this fact. That is, we are going to pay...[changes thought] There was a time when we made the mistake on the wharfs by paying those who carried 2, 7, or 100 tons the same. Tractor drivers were paid the same, regardless of whether they plowed 1, 2, or 3 hectares. Transportors were paid the same regardless of whether they made 1, 5, or 10 trips. Those were negative experiences. We must not make that kind of mistake again.

It is unquestionable that this applies whenever the quality and quantity of work can be measured. I comment on quality first, because it is a disaster to pay only according to the quantity of work.

I believe that a very negative aspect of this entire situation is that quality has been forgotten. We have acknowledged that here.

Therefore, I think that in the area of material production it is correct to apply the principle of paying in keeping with the quality and quantity of work done. Of course, we have mentioned here many cases in which neither the quality nor the quantity were taken into consideration. I do not think much about men who work hard and strive to work harder. Men who do quality work and produce more and earn more money in the process. I do not lose sleep over that. That does not worry me. I do not see why that is against the principles of socialism and moral principles. However, it would seem absurd to me to see a communist having a permit to work on his own. I think that it is not correct for a communist to earn a lot of money that he does not really deserve, especially if his standards are low. We must have standards in our work. We must establish ratios when appropriate and possible. We must do away with them when they are not operational.

Veiga has set forth some ideas that we must study. Well what should we do? We should not err. It would be terrible to make other mistakes while trying to correct mistakes, or to fall in idealism while correcting mistakes and in turn to allow this to affect production. We cannot make this kind of mistake. I warn about this.

That is why I said that we cannot...[changes thought] I believe that we must continue to use the economic yardstick. We must review criteria and concepts. I think that it is correct to struggle to achieve profitability. I think that Companero Santiago Castro's speech here is a good example of how something can be done even with this horse: We can ride on it, we can move forward.

We cannot make that type of mistake. I am making this perfectly clear. I am saying that we cannot do that here. I believe we should continue making economic estimates. We have to review criteria and concepts. I believe it is correct to struggle to produce profits. I think that what Companero Santiago Castro said here is a good example of how we can still move with this horse, we can do somthing with it.

They have been able to make this agricultural enterprise profitable through prices and price reforms. It is possible that they have too many people as well as other difficulties, and that they do not have a perfect organization. The oranges enterprise and the Hector Molina [word indistinct] complex show that with current prices, hard work, and efficiency enterprises can be made profitable, but what has been happening lately is that the number of unprofitable enterprises has increased.

Profitability, however, must not be the at-all-costs goal of an enterprise. This year we had to harvest sugar. The most important thing for the country this year was not whether the industrial complexes were profitable or not, but whether or not we could save the sugar, whether or not we were going to be able to harvest the sugarcane downed by the hurricane. We had to harvest the sugar regardless of the cost. We have to acknowledge here that the sugar workers made a heroic effort. This was a most encouraging fact out of all the sour and negative things we have seen lately. [applause]

We had already lost 1 million tons of sugar because of the drought. When I saw the amount of sugarcane that had been downed by the hurricane I thought, realistically -- and I do not believe that my estimate was mistaken -- that the losses could fluctuate between 1.5 and 1 million arrobas [unit of weight equal to 25 pounds], tons, rather, of sugar. This was my estimate of hurricane-produced losses only. The sugarcane was not only on the ground, it was also mangled. Much of it was broken. What could have been saved from that? You should see what the sugar workers under the leadership of the party did, what they created.

There is a harvesting machine which they used. And they discovered that even if there is no hurricane it is good to have harvesting trays going behind them as they harvest because this diminishes the losses resulting from leavings from 12 or 14 percent, to 3, 4, or 5 percent. And this is good business.

It is possible that we will now increase the habit of having harvesting trays going behind the sugar-harvesting combines. At that time, let us understand this clearly, the fundamental thing for the country was not the profitability of industrial complexes, but to harvest the sugar. The harvest represented billions of rubles, of dollars, of pesos in exports.

At that moment we could bear a loss in an industrial complex. A sugar mill producing 100,000 tons of sugar, supplies us with millions and millions of pesos in exports to the Soviet Union. At that moment we could endure, without feeling disgraceful, losses amounting to 1, 2, or 3 million pesos.

There are things, strategically speaking, that are more important than profitability. We must try to be profitable because this shows efficiency and it is a way to measure savings and good utilization of resources, but we must not make mistakes.

The emerging of a quackish attitude could be due to the belief that many of these products are of no interest to the enterprise because they do not yield too much money and are not too profitable and therefore, they did not work on those products.

It is a shame that a socialist state cannot organize this type of production. I say to the companero: You have a list of 200 or 300 products and we are going to produce them all and we are going to produce them better. We have so many ways of producing them and so many places in which to do this. [applause]

They are often looking for jobs to give to convicts. Historically, convicts do handicraft work, pretty things. I remember that in the past, during capitalism, convicts used to make things and send them as gifts to see if anyone would have mercy on them and send them money in return. They did not sell the product of their work. They sent it away hoping that they would be paid for it.

The state can very much organize what those people produce, and it can use raw material that is stolen from the state and that can be acquired by the state. [sentence as heard] So we are determined, among other things, to organize the production of the 300 articles that were being produced, and to produce more.

One thing we are not going to do, for example, is to buy all the toothbrushes in a city to use the plastic in them to make little necklaces, etc. We are not going to be doing the crazy things that the quacks were doing. The quacks will simply have to withdraw.

We are going to be adopting all these complementary measures, as I have said. We are going to solve all these problems. Generally speaking, what I want to say is that we have to be cautious, prudent, careful, and wise, and do nothing that could negatively affect production.

Now I am going to speak about other concepts. Speaking about the quacks, I believe I deviated from the main idea. We were talking about profitability and then I spoke about merchandise that sometimes we stop producing because it is not profitable.

I say that all enterprises, regardless of how important the profitability factor is, must think first about the country's interests, about the interests of society. When an enterprise begins to think like a profit-oriented enterprise only, we are talking about a capitalist enterprise, an inferior-quality enterprise. It has to be so. That enterprise reasons: This does not suit me, so I will not do it. There have been cases of people who would rather import something than buy it here because they could buy the import cheaper, without considering that imported products cost the country foreign exchange. This can be done by capitalists, but not by a socialist enterprise.

So, if we are going to have savings estimates and prices as mechanisms, we have no other choice but to use them, even if this is somewhat similar to a capitalist scheme, let us have them, but let us also have a listing of the moral and revolutionary principles that must be upheld by socialist enterprises. Let us have a listing of what does not go against the interests of the nation, which is the fundamental criterion.

This is why I am concerned with our native tendency to chaos, anarchy, to a lack of respect for the law, to do whatever pops into our minds. Enterprises have often played the rascal. We know that. They have committed many blunders and done many dealings, and cheated a lot. This is the truth.

I believe that all the companeros who direct enterprises must revolutionarily check their consciences. We start from the idea that many enterprise managers are Communists, many are militants of the party. We start from the concept that enterprise managers are revolutionaries. [applause] We start from the concept that when we speak with them we are speaking with revolutionaries. They have to examine all those things they have been doing incorrectly: violating the law, doing improper things, things that harm the country, or things that promote corruption.

I tell them: The protecting of the workers' conscience is more important than meeting a certain goal. If I were at an enterprise and I had to choose between protecting the workers' conscience by acting honestly, and meeting the enterprise's goal, you can be sure that I would protect the workers' conscience and act honestly. This is more important. We cannot go and meet goals at any cost.

Of course I agree with Veiga that bonuses and the bonus concept must be studied and reviewed to determine if there is a justification for that and, if there is, then to determine where a bonus is justified.

We must decide if a bonus must be given because a goal is reached. This is somewhat absurd. A worker said here that the workers in his workcenter had been disgusted because there had been much talk about a bonus. I have never had the privilege of being an enterprise manager like Companero Marco, who for years has directed an enterprise, the Nuevitas Fertilizers Enterprise.

It is a shame because I would have more experience on the subject, but I try to imagine myself directing an enterprise. It must be a very hard life. Enterprise directors could evoke that program entitled How Hard Must the Life of the Mayor Be, and say: What a hard life enterprise managers have.

During the economic reform days, enterprise managers had their salaries increased, but nowadays everyone makes more money than the manager. This has been another consequence of the errors that have been committed, but I cannot imagine myself speaking to a group of workers and encouraging them to work hard because I am going to give them a bonus. I believe I would talk to them about the country, about the revolution, or try to find some other source of motivation.

There is the case of people at war, when man risks his life for freedom. Man can be motivated to make sacrifices and to heroism. We must realize the power of man's honor and pride. This is more powerful than money, I can assure you that. [applause]

A manager who believes in resolving things with money is one who does not have any trust in the honor and pride of the workers. I believe I would be offending a group of workers if I were to tell them: Companeros, let us do this, we have to do it, and if we do it you are going to get a bonus of 100 pesos. I feel that I would be blackmailing them, injuring them, insulting them. Whoever tells me something like that, I would tell him I do not accept that.

It would be like Lezcano coming to tell us that he is going to pay us some overtime because of the time we have spent here. That would be an insult. This is not the way.

The essential quality of a leader, of a director, be it in the political or the administrative aspect, is his ability to motivate people. This is the key. In capitalism material stimulus is king. Material stimulus is the stimulus par excellence used by directors, and the best directors are those who know how to promote the pride of the workers, the self-esteem of the workers. Even capitalism uses this element.

Capitalism functions on the basis of money and the directors, the managers, the executives -- as they call them -- who are more successful are those who can best promote human and personal interests in whatever they do, regardless of money. We socialists are forgetting the dignity and the pride of the workers and thinking about a stimulus of a material nature only.

There are many things that are worth more than a goal and than profitability. But we must firmly struggle for goals, for profitability, etc., because this is a way to measure efficiency at work.

We will have to study some things that were decentralized. What Risquet said is right: Problems as important as rules and salaries depended on thousands of persons and factors. This should have been handled in a uniform manner, in a centralized way. This is one of the things we have to study.

We have to study the situation of the laid-off workers [interruptos], to resolve it. We have to find an adequate solution. I prefer that they remain at the disposal of the enterprise, doing something for the time being, while we do not have microbrigades. Once we have microbrigades the ideal thing would be to pay them so that they go home. They are corruptive people.

We have to see how we overcome this phase of the laid-off workers, what to do about them, what makes a laid-off worker, and who can be considered one, if the laid-off category is to be maintained in some sector or industry.

What role should the Labor Ministry and the State Labor Committee play regarding these problems? I believe that what has been discussed here will have to be promptly and seriously discussed by the party's leadership. This has to be done with the criteria of being prudent, careful, wise, and not falling in extremisms, in illusions, in idealisms. This is what the results of this meeting and all the things that have been said here bring to my mind.

I believe that we must be, first of all, prudent. Without extremisms, but immediately, we have to begin implementing the instructions you were given.

We have to review norms and incorrect payments. Rectifications are political work. I believe that the workers and the labor movement have an important role in this, and the party also.

The labor movement zealously defended its involvement and it became its rallying cry after the 13th congress. I think that sometimes it went too far, I think that too much pressure was exerted at a given moment, and it became some kind of sacrifice -- who was involved and who was not involved -- and finally, almost anyone and anything were involved.

I believe that the workers movement plays a very important and responsible role in helping the party, in helping the revolutionary government and in helping the revolution to rectify all these mistakes that have been committed. I liked what Companero Alfredo said, and I particularly liked what he said regarding the battles he fought there in the most difficult working sectors. I am sure that the transportation sector is one of the most difficult sectors. I am especially referring to the taxi driver sector, for example, because this worker does not work with other workers. He works alone in the streets, he supervises himself. He does not work in the same conditions that prevail in a workshop, in a sugar mill, or in a construction brigade. This man works freely. He is a wandering worker. He drives around in his Lada car, and it is not an easy job. I also believe that bus drivers and truck drivers work alone, too. Many times because of the abundance of money and this flow of cash, some of them are tempted by thieves. All this takes place because the job is difficult. Jobs in service centers are more difficult, especially those in restaurants. There are many complaints. The job done there is not easy. That is where the party and the workers movement must work. They must sit down to discuss this, because we cannot declare ourselves incapable of facing the problem in these sectors. We must face the problems in the service, taxi rental, and transportation sectors. Even in the railroad sector there has been problems, and we are making a special effort in this sector because we need it. The country and the economy need it. There is a program for the next few years and the workers' response has been good. There used to be a lack of discipline, problems, and ridiculous forms of payment that decreased the quality of work.

But they are working on it. They are working in hospitals and in the tourist sector. It is a fight, a counteroffensive. It is not a campaign, it is a strategic counteroffensive to stop all these things. We must not be impatient, we must not rush to adopt measures. However, these measures cananot wait indefinitely. For instance, this about something about being discussed for 2 or 3 years, this is unacceptable. We must take the amount of time needed for each measure we take. That is why we cannot make any decisions here. We shall make them later, one by one. We will review all the problems, and we must work hard with problems such as the excess of resolutions, the excess of data, and all those things.

Tomorrow we are going to propose a meeting with the Politburo, and we shall invite ministers involved in the production of materials, we shall invite the companeros who are secretaries of the party in the provinces, who are here now. We shall hold an initial meeting to discuss the things we are mentioning here, so we can begin working immediately without rush.

I believe that this can be a historical meeting depending on the job we do in the future. If we start to make mistakes and if we start to be foolish, if we fall into extremes, if we begin to adversely affect production...[changes thought] no measures have been taken to counteract them. Here I asked about patents because it is a moral thing. I said, well, communists, to me it is clear that a communist must not participate in such things, but we must study this well. We must have good information, and we must not take any quick measures.

The commitment to carry out this revolutionary counteroffensive must prevail. It must be tuned with the political and ideological spects and with the heroic efforts made by the country in the area of defense. You know this; you are witnesses. I believe we can do this and the other things too. I believe we can make this effort in the microbrigade plan. I believe we can obtain the 150,000 tons of cement, and I believe that we can obtain the 15,000 tons of gravel for the plan we discussed here. I believe we can find the sand and rock one way or another. We shall speed up investments and all those processes. That is how we did it once, and I believe we can find solutions so that we can start energetically on a construction plan in the capital city with its existing labor force and energy. It will become a matter of honor for the capital city to implement its own housing project with its sweat and energy. This is what we are going to do. Most of these housing constructions will be done with microbrigades. Also [words indistinct], so that what happened at Alamar will not happen again. We still need some schools and polyclinics. These are things that will not use too much of the country's foreign exchange. They will only utilize some of the labor force and some of the country's resources.

We will not be able to start the microbrigades movement immediately. In a way [word indistinct] consultations being made by the microbrigadists. In addition, Companero Cabrera asked me to propose an idea: I thought about it a great deal; 26 tall buildings are being built, and they are not finished yet, because they are affected by a lack of workers. They were commissioned to be built by the state due to certain state needs. The microbrigades movement will not (?receive) some of the houses, they will go to the work centers and others will be given to those sectors that cannot create microbrigades and satisfy social needs. The regulations in this regard will be established. These houses are being built by the state to fill urgent needs. There was talk about [word indistinct] brigades of even only 40 percent of these tall apartments.

These buildings will be proportionally distributed; some will be given to work centers ending out brigades to finish these 26 multi-storey buildings located in the capital. In this regard, Cabrera told me that all the necessary materials to finish them are available. Therefore, the microbrigades will start working on these 26 multi-storey buildings.

Meanwhile, we must create the conditions to begin a program to build 10,000 houses at the end of the year. I am hopeful that we will be able to overcome material limitations in our attempt to find solutions.

I believe that we must not limit ourselves to this meeting only; we must establish a work plan; we must work hard in the upcoming months. I propose that we meet again within 1 year, at about this time. [applause]

We could organize the meeting better, we could report on what we have done. Then, the party will review the work done; as now, it will follow-up and then meet again. However, next year, we must not only check the 200-plus work centers, but all 916 work centers and issue a report on all of them: How did they fare? What experiences and problems did they have? What corrective action mistakes were made and what errors were prevented? We will meet here again to review the work done in a year. I hope that most companeros present here will meet again; I hope that managers will last longer, that they receive all the necessary support from labor unions, the party, and youths in order to carry out their duties. I hope they work together [applause] to make a review a year later, because we must follow this closely. We must pay attention to details, find out what happened in each center, and analyze other problems. We have not discussed production problems. Some came up incidentally, such as construction problems.

On our part, we discussed the problems of an electric filter factory that cannot produce them, because it is facing difficult conditions. This is a problem related to electronics. Well, we will see. I will analyze this with the companeros, there are 47 (?of them). We will study their importance and their situation and prevent others from opening. We must start a struggle to free the brigades, and the way to free them is to reduce them.

We must be prepared, because unpredictable situations could appear at any time. We must have constructive reserves. I do not share what Companero Cabrera said that we must optimize the plan; yes, we must optimize the plan, but it is much more rational to optimize investment programs. We cannot stop the process, because we again purchased factories that have not been assembled yet, such as the shoe factory. Unforeseen needs could appear at hospitals. In December, we witnessed a case when hospitals had to make special efforts. In fact, construction companeros are taking care of that. We must not only optimize investment programs, but also change concepts and the mentality of our construction brigades in the west. We must take away from them that apathy and habit of never finishing, of being resigned to work from 20 to 25 years at one-half and one-quarter of their capacity. We must ensure that brigades improve their work, and construction workers improve their work as well. We must ensure that they acquire a new attitude. This is already evident in a number of projects. We will rationalize them; we will analyze those that we actually carry out. However, even in this aspect, I think that we could report on progress achieved next year. I think that in our next meeting, the microbrigades will be working intensely and many of our problems will have been solved. Companeros, I harbor the hope that we will report a minimum number of mistakes next time; we will have avoided mistakes and problems. We will meet under our commitment with our homeland, revolution, party, and socialist ideals and the conviction that we not only have the willingness to carry out those objectives, but also the capability to carry them out.

I am sure that each one of these meetings have been encouraging; each one has borne fruit. The peasant meeting is already yielding results; the news being received is encouraging. We hope that the news to be received on your work in the next few days, weeks, and months will also be very encouraging. [applause]

BAHAMAS

NEW AMBASSADOR TO UNITED STATES APPOINTED

FL280038 Bridgetown CANA in English 2112 GMT 27 Jun 86

[Excerpt] Nassau, June 27, CANA -- The Bahamian Government has named its first female ambassador, who will serve as this country's representative to the United States. Mrs Margaret McDonald, a career civil servant, recently retired after nearly 50 years of public service. For the last six years she has served as secretary to the Cabinet, the first woman to occupy this position.

JAMAICA

SEAGA ANNOUNCES MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS FOR 29 JULY

FL301534 Bridgetown CANA in English 1520 GMT 30 Jun 86

[Text] Kingston, June 20, CANA -- Jamaicans will vote in municipal elections on July 29, Prime Minister Edward Seaga announced last night. But the prime minister told a conference of his Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) that he would not be forced into calling a general election.

The opposition People's National Party [PNP] is well ahead of the JLP in opinion polls and has expressed confidence of gaining control of the 12 municipal councils from the ruling party. Nominations for the 187 local government seats will be on July 7. The twice postponed vote will be the first major test for Seaga since the JLP won twin landslide national and municipal election victories in late 1980 or early 1981. Municipal elections should have been held in 1984 but they were first put off because a new voters register and reforms to reduce illegal voting were incomplete -- reasons which the PNP said led to its boycott of the 1983 snap general election -- and again last year when reforms that included a reduction in the responsibilities of the municipal authorities and the chopping of seats were proposed. The latter led to a prolonged wrangle and the eventual redrawing of boundaries.

The PNP has pledged to make the elections a referendum on the government's performance and says it will press for general elections if it does well. But last night Seaga stressed that while his party will use the election to promote its record, he saw no link between general and municipal elections. I want them to understand that there is a difference between a general election and a local government election. A general election, he said, would be called when the government was ready.

Saying that his administration had nearly three more years in office, Seaga declared: I warn anybody and everybody that you cannot force this government to call an election so don't try it. This government does not bow to threats.

In a snap reminder of the 1980 poll when over 800 people were killed that year, both the JLP and the PNP have called for a violence-feee campaign.

A joint statement from Seaga and Manley yesterday said that both men had secret meetings over the past several months discussing sensitive issues relating to the conduct of party political affairs and had agreed on the need for an election code of conduct.

There is a possibility of the proposed code being given legislative effect and a joint committee of the parties to discuss this and other areas of agreement.

At the latest meeting Friday, Seaga and Manley agreed that there should be no defacement of cities and towns with political slogans, grafitti, and posters.

In addition to the PNP and the JLP, which are expected to be represented in all municipal polling divisions, the Marxist Workers' Party says it will field some candidates.

Manley Reacts to Announcement

FL302318 Bridgetown CANA in English 2300 GMT 30 Jun 86

[Text] Kingston, June 30, CANA -- Opposition leader Michael Manley insisted today that municipal elections here in a months time would be a referendum on the Edward Seaga government. Victory by his People's National Party (PNP) should lead to a national poll, Manley said at a news conference.

He was reacting to Prime Minster Seaga's declaration last night that the outcome of the local government poll would have nothing to do with when he called parliamentary elections.

If the judgement of the people is clear, we would expect the judgement of the people to be respected with a general election, Manley said.

Seaga last night announced that Jamaicans would vote on July 29 for 187 councillors on 13 local government authorities, two years later than originally due. The election was first put off because a voters register and reforms to eliminate fraudulent voting were not in place, and then because the government introduced local government reforms.

The PNP, having boycotted snap parliamentary elections in December 1983 for the same reason the local government poll was first postponed is seeking to use the July 29 vote to call into question the legitimacy of the Seaga administration.

Manley said the main focus of his campaign will be economic issues, especially the programme of deregulation, devaluation and tight money. We will be looking at (them) in the context of the terrible deterioration of living standards, Manley said. The PNP would also highlight the emasculation of local government as well as corruption.

The PNP leader said a high voter turn-out would benefit his party. We are campaigning to secure as good or better a turn out than before, he said.

The voter turn-out at local government elections generally run in the mid 40 range, but has gone as high as 60 per cent.

MANLEY REJECTS PNP INVOLVEMENT IN SHOOTING

FL302306 Bridgetown CANA in English 2234 GMT 30 Jun 86

[Text] Kingston, June 30, CANA -- Opposition People's National Party (PNP) leader, Michael Manley, today rejected charges that PNP supporters had opened gunfire on ruling Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) members last night.

The shooting occurred as the JLP supporters were returning from a rally last night where Prime Minister Edward Seaga announced that municipal elections will be held on July 29.

The evidence available satisfies me that no PNP supporter fired on JLP members, Manley told reporters.

He declined to say what party investigations turned up, but said he would ask Police Commissioner Herman Ricketts to carry out a thorough investigation and to make public the findings.

JLP officials said today that supporters returning from the rally were attacked by PNP backers and that a car in a security convoy for National Security Minister Winston Spaulding had its rear windscreen shattered by gunshots.

Spaulding and Public Utilities Minister Pearnel Charles were at the time travelling in another vehicle, it was reported.

The Police Information Centre (PIC) said Commissioner Ricketts had ordered an investigation of the report.

The incident came against the backdrop of secret talks over the past several months between Manley and Seaga on the conduct of politics here, and a formal agreement to work towards a legislated code of conduct for electioneering.

In the meantime, a joint JLP/PNP committee is monitoring behaviour in this campaign, which both sides have pledged to keep violence free and fought on issues.

In a statement today, Seaga said that despite JLP supporters being attacked, his party would continue to strive for peace, which both parties genuinely wanted.

Said Manley at his news conference: We are leaving no stones unturned to ensure that our supporters are not responsible for acts of violence.